

POL

27

BIAFRA - NIGERIA

5/1/69

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

☐ Retain class'n ☐ Change/classify to \_\_\_\_\_  
☒ Declassify with ~~original classification~~  
EO 12958, 25X  
FPC/HDR by AS Date: 3/18/96

Withdrawal No. \_\_\_\_\_

0715

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND959503  
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05

KF



*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 980

PAGE 01 LAGOS 05944 301933Z

52  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, ORM 03, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01,  
CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, INT 06, DOT 12, COM 08, RSR 01, /198 W  
----- 058550

R 301535Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7537  
INFO AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
CINCSRIKE  
DIA

*Lagos 5944  
6/30/69*

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 5944

SUBJ: MIDWEST SECURITY SITUATION

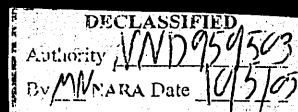
1. EMBASSY OFFICER ON TRIP TO BENIN CITY AND ASABA LAST WEEK FOUND PERCEPTIBLE INCREASE FMG AND EXPATRIATE CONCERN OVER SECURITY SITUATION IN SOUTHWESTERN PORTION MIDWESTERN STATE. PROXIMATE CAUSE OF CONCERN IS CONTINUING REPORTS OF REBEL BANDS OPERATING WEST OF ASE RIVER. RAIDS OF NO MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE AS YET, BUT PRODUCING ADVERSE EFFECT ON CIVILIANS, PARTICULARLY EXPATRIATE PERSONNEL, MANY OF WHOM ESSENTIAL TO MIDWESTERN EXPORTS OF OIL, RUBBER, TIMBER. THIS APPREHENSION HAS TO BE VIEWED AGAINST BACKGROUND: MURDER ITALIAN OIL MEN; AIR RAIDS ON PORT HARCOURT, UGHELLI, AND BENIN (INCLUDING OVERFLIGHT BY UNKNOWN AIRCRAFT EARLY MORNING JUNE 25); ROBBERIES OF EXPATRIATES BY UNKNOWN ARMED MEN (BUT PRESUMABLY FMG TROOPS.); AND CLEAR THREAT BY REBELS TO DISRUPT OIL INDUSTRY.

2. ALL THESE INCIDENTS REPORTED SEPARATELY, BUT DESPITE REASSURING NOISES MADE BY ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF KATSINA DURING TOUR WARRI, ASABA, BENIN (WHICH ITSELF BEING INTERPRETED IN MIDWEST AS ADMISSION OF DIFFICULTIES) AND RECENTLY TO UKHICOMER BY GOWON, WE BELIEVE REBELS MAY BE SUCCESSFUL IN

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 05944 301933Z

FORCING FMG INTO MORE VIGOROUS EFFORTS CONTROL MARAUDING REBELS AND  
OWN TROOPS. SHELL-BP AND OTHER LARGE EXPAT FIRMS FOLLOWING  
EVENTS CLOSELY. WE ARE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH BRITISH AND  
FIRMS HAVING INTEREST IN AREA AND WILL REPORT AS/WHEN  
FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OCCUR. AT PRESENT, THERE IS ONLY  
INCREASED FEELING OF UNEASE AND DOUBT FED BY CEASELESS  
NIGERIAN RUMOR MILL. DAO SEPTEL AND AIRGRAMS FOLLOW.  
GP-3 MATHEWS

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0717

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 01 LAGOS 05932 301552Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01,

UCF 05, CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 03, 158 W

057164

R 301145Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7530  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION USUN  
CINCSRIKE  
DIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: LAGOS 5932

SUBJECT: OBSERVER TEAM REPORT MAY 1 JUNE 27

REF LAGOS 3781 A-220

1. REPORT BY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM COVERING ABOVE PERIOD WILL BE RELEASED AT 1800 JULY 1.

2. MAIN CONCLUSIONS AS SUMMARIZED BY UK HIGH COMMISSION AS FOLLOWS:

"(A) REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE WAR AFFECTED AREAS OCCUPIED BY THE FEDERAL FORCES ARE STILL DEPENDENT TO A VERY GREAT EXTENT ON RELIEF AGENCIES FOR FOOD AND MEDICAL CARE."

"(B) PEOPLE RECENTLY RETURNED FROM THE SECESSIONIST AREAS:

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By MVA Date 10/5/05





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PAGE 02 LAGOS 05932 301552Z

SPOKE HIGHLY OF THE COMPASSION AND ACTIVE COOPERATION OF THE FEDERAL FORCES.

"(C) MILITARY AND CIVILIAN HOSPITALS IN THE AREAS DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY THE WAR ARE SERIOUSLY UNDERSTAFFED. IN PARTICULAR THE REPORT REFERS TO THE I DIVISION AREA WHERE THE LACK OF MEDICAL ATTENTION AND SHORTAGE OF MEDICAL PERSONNEL AND SUPPLIES WAS CAUSING CONSIDERABLE CONCERN. THE SFC HOSPITAL AT AWGU IS SERIOUSLY UNDERSTAFFED AND THE MEDICAL TEAM THERE VOICE THEIR CONCERN.

"(D) SOME CIVILIAN REFUGEES ARE BEING HELD IN DETENTION FOR AN EXCESSIVE PERIOD OF TIME IN FORWARD AREAS. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT SCREENING OF REFUGEES BE EXPEDITED WITH A VIEW TO THEIR EARLIEST POSSIBLE RELEASE CONSISTENT WITH SECURITY AND THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY.

"(E) PRISONERS OF WAR ARE BEING HELD FOR WHAT IS CONSIDERED LONG PERIODS OF TIME IN THE FORWARD AREAS. THESE PRISONERS SHOULD BE DESPATCHED TO THE REAR AREAS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

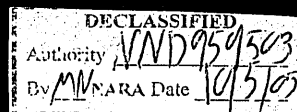
"(F) MANY OF THE POWS HELD IN THE LAGOS AREA VOICE SYMPATHY WITH A SUPPORT FOR THE FMG AND A UNITED NIGERIA. A REVIEW BOARD SHOULD PROCESS THEM WITH A VIEW TO THEIR EARLY REHABILITATION.

"(G) THE ADMINISTRATION AT ENUGU IS AN IBO ADMINISTRATION AND IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE REHABILITATION OF THE THOUSANDS OF IBOS NOW IN FEDERAL HELD AREAS. THE CONVICTION OF THIS ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES CHARGES OF GENOCIDE.

"(H) SEVERAL SECESSIONIST PRISONERS OF WAR INCLUDING OFFICERS, TOLD THE OBSERVERS THAT THE SECESSIONIST TROOPS RATIONS CONSISTED OF FOOD SUPPLIED BY RELIEF AGENCIES." DECON UPON RECEIPT.  
MATHEWS

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 975

PAGE 01 LAGOS 05930 011023Z

21  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCSE 00,

SCA 01, RSR 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, /142 W

062579

R 301140Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7529  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 5930

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP JUNE 29 AND 30

1. JUNE 29 PAPERS REPORT LONG SPEECH BY CHIEF AWOLowo IN  
CAPACITY AS CHANCELLOR UNIVERSITY OF IFE  
AT UNIVERSITY GRADUATION IN WHICH HE STATED INTER  
ALIA, CIVIL WAR COSTING AVERAGE OF SIX MILLION POUNDS  
MONTHLY NOT INCLUDING FOREIGN EXCHANGE BEING SPENT FOR  
MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND LOSSES BY PHYSICAL DESTRUCTION OF  
PROPERTIES.

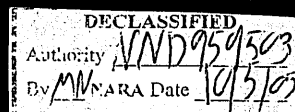
2. JUNE 29 OBSERVER REPORTS ICRC HAS DELIVERED NOTE TO  
FMG ASKING FOR IMMEDIATE RETURN OF BODIES OF PERSONS  
KILLED IN ICRC PLANE SHOT DOWN OVER EKET.

3. JUNE 29 PAPERS REPORT JUNE 28 PRESS CONFERENCE OF COMINFO

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 05930 011023Z

ENAHORO IN WHICH HE SAID FIRST AND THIRD DIVISIONS OF NIGERIAN ARMY HAVE BEGUN, DURING PAST WEEK, NEW OFFENSIVE ON REMAINING

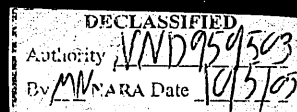
REBEL TERRITORY. SECOND DIVISION CARRYING OUT OPERATIONS ALONG WEST BANK OF NIGER IN MID-WEST AGAINST REBELS IN THAT AREA. ENATORO ALSO DISCLOSED THAT NAF JET PROVOST HAD STRAYED INTO DAHOMEAN AIRSPACE BECAUSE OF BAD WEATHER AND LANDED NEAR PORTO NOVO. EXPRESSED FMG'S GRATITUDE TO PRESIDENT ZINSOU FOR RELEASING PLANE. "IN TRUE SPIRIT OF AFRICAN SOLIDARITY". ALSO SAID IN REPLY TO QUESTION ABOUT DIKE STATEMENTS IN PARIS THAT HE SAW NOTHING NEW IN STATEMENT "BUT IF REBELS MAKE GENUINE PEACE MOVES, THEY WILL FIND WE PREPARED TO LISTEN TO THEM". ENAHORO ALSO SAID FMG HAS NOW COMPLETED ITS REVIEW OF ALL RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA AND THIS REVIEW WOULD BE MADE KNOWN TO REPS OF RELIEF AGENCIES AT MEETING CALLED BY FMG FOR JUNE 30. FMG TO BE REPRESENTED AT MEETING BY ENAHORO AND COMREHAB AND RELIEF OMO-BARE PLUS SEVERAL FMG PERMSECS.

4. ALL JUNE 30 PAPERS HEADLINE OPENING OF CONFERENCE ON RELIEF MATTERS WITH, ACCORDING TO POST, SOME TWENTY RELIEF AGENCIES ATTENDING. TRIBUNE EDITORIAL TITLED "TELL THEM" CALLS FOR UTMOST FRANKNESS FROM BOTH FMG AND RELIEF AGENCIES AT THIS CONFERENCE WITH RELIEF AGENCIES SPELLING OUT IN DETAIL "PRECISELY WHAT THEY CONSIDER THEIR BUSINESS IN THIS WAR. AND SECOND, FMG SHOULD STATE IN UNEQUIVOCAL LANGUAGE WHAT IT CONCEIVES THEIR ROLE TO BE". RENEWS ITS CALL FOR RELIEF AGENCIES TO OPERATE ONLY IN LIBERATED AREAS BECAUSE "THEIR FEEDING OF REBELS HAS CONTRIBUTED LARGELY TO PROLONGATION OF WAR AND AS LONG AS FEEDING CONTINUES END OF CONFLICT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO FORESEE". SAYS THAT ALL PEOPLE IN REBEL AREAS SHOULD BE PASSED WORD THAT FOOD AWAITS THEM ONLY SHORT DISTANCE AWAY IN LIBERATED AREAS. STATES THAT IF RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS WILL NOT ACCEPT FMG'S CONCEPT OF THEIR ROLE THEY SHOULD "PACK OUT OF THIS COUNTRY AND GIVE SOME ATTENTION TO SOUTH VIETNAMESE WAR OR MIDDLE EAST CRISIS WHICH MIGHT PROVE MUCH MORE REWARDING TO THEM".

5. JUNE 30 TRIBUNE CARRIES "NEWSTALK" ON RIVER RELIEF ROUTE EXPRESSING SUSPICION OF ALLEGED WAY USG AND ICRC WORKED OUT PLAN WITHOUT FMG'S KNOWLEDGE. CALLS FOR FMG TO BE VERY CAREFUL OF THIS "TROJAN HORSE" BECAUSE OF CONNECTION

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 05930 017023Z

OF "DISCREDITED ICRC" TO IT. JUNE 30 POST ALSO CARRIES  
SIGNED ARTICLE ATTACKING PAST ROLE OF RELIEF AGENCIES  
SUPPOSED AID TO REBELS AND SAYS FMG SHOULD THROW THEM OUT  
IF THEY WILL NOT AGREE TO OPERATE AS FMG DIRECTS.

6. JUNE 30 POST HAS ANOTHER EDITORIAL PRAISING UNICEF  
HELICOPTER OPERATION WHICH HAS JUST BEEN PHASED OUT AND  
CALLS FOR FMG TO REEXAMINE CLOSING OF OPERATION SINCE IT  
"APPEARS TO BE ONLY SUCH EFFORT ABOUT WHICH THERE HAS  
BEEN NO COMPLAINT". STATES THAT BECAUSE OF RAINS AND  
ROAD CONDITIONS SUCH OPERATION SHOULD BE STARTED ALSO FOR  
RIVERS AND EAST CENTRAL STATES AS WELL AS REESTABLISHING  
IT IN SOUTH-EASTERN WHERE IT ORIGINALLY OPERATING. MATHEWS

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0722

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By <i>MV</i> NARA Date <i>10/3/05</i>





Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 786

PAGE 01 PARIS 09829 281623Z

53  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01 CIAE 001/071 W

050738

R 281535Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5006.  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET PARIS 9829

LIMDIS

SUBJ: FRENCH VIEWS ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. AFCW DIRECTOR SCHAUFELE AND EMBOFF DISCUSSED NIGERIA/BIAFRA BRIEFLY JUNE 27 WITH QUAI AFRICA DIRECTOR LEBEL. LEBEL SAID THAT FRANCE STILL KEENLY INTERESTED IN FINDING PEACEFUL SOLUTION, IS PERFECTLY WILLING ACCEPT IDEA OF SINGLE NIGERIA, SUPPORTS TALKS BETWEEN TWO SIDES WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS, BUT CAN NOT SEE CLEARLY HOW AND WHEN OUTSIDE NON-AFRICANS INFLUENCE CAN BE USED EFFECTIVELY TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. HE SAID THAT FRENCH REPORTS FROM VARIOUS AFRICAN POSTS ON THIS SUBJECT ARE USUALLY VAGUE AND OFTEN CONTRADICTORY.

2. LEBEL WENT ON TO SAY THAT FRENCH REMAIN CONVINCED THAT FORMULA DISCUSSED WITH US PREVIOUSLY OF HAVING HOUPHOUET BOIGNY, WHO IS VERY CLOSE TO OJUKWU, WORKING WITH ANOTHER AFRICAN CHIEF OF STATE CLOSE TO GOWON OFFERS GREATEST PROMISE OF REACHING AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO SIDES. HOUPHOUET WILL BE IN PARIS ON JULY 16 AND FRENCH EMBASSY ABIDJAN REPORTS HE WISHES DISCUSS NIGERIA/BIAFRA SITUATION WITH NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT. LEBEL ADDED THAT HE EXPECTED HOUPHOUET WOULD ALSO WISH RENEW DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR SHRIVER ON PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

3. EMBOFF ASKED LEBEL IF HOUPHOUET WERE NERVOUS OVER POSSIBLE CHANGE IN FRENCH POLICY TOWARD BIAFRA UNDER NEW GOVERNMENT. LEBEL SAID HOUPHOUET HAD NO FEARS ON THIS SCORE. FRANCE DOES NOT INTEND TO LET BIAFRA DOWN, BUT WOULD ACCEPT SINGLE NIGERIA OF LOOSE STRUCTURE.

SECRET

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By MNARA Date 10/3/05



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SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 09829 281623Z

WITH SUITABLE PROTECTION FOR RIGHTS OF IBOS.

4. CONCERNING PRESS STATEMENT BY BIAFRAN REP DIKE IN PARIS JUNE 26, LEBEL SAID MOST SIGNIFICANT PASSAGE WAS STATEMENT THAT BIAFRA READY ENGAGE IN TALKS "WITHOUT MAKING ITS NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY A PRECONDITION," PROVIDED FNL NOT MAKE SINGW NIGERIA A PRECONDITION. LEBEL SAID THIS IS ALSO FRENCH POSITION, I.E. SINGLE NIGERIA SHOULD BE RESULT OF TALKS AND NOT PRECONDITION.

5. WHEN EMBOFF POINTED OUT THAT DIKE HAD RETAINED CEASE FIRE AS PRECONDITION FOR ENGAGING IN TALKS, LEBEL SHRUGGED IT OFF BY SAYING THAT AFRICANS ARE NOT AS PRECISE IN THEIR STATEMENTS OR THEIR THINKING AS WESTERNERS. FRENCH POSITION IS ONE OF TALKS WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS, INCLUDING CEASEFIRE. ASKED WHAT HOUPHOUET'S POSITION WAS ON THIS POINT. LEBEL SAID THAT FRENCH HAVE HAD CONFLICTING REPORTS BUT ARE INCLINED TO THINK HOUPHOUET BOIGNY DOES NOT REALLY

CONSIDER CEASE-FIRE IS PRECONDITION FOR TALKS.  
BLAKE

SECRET

0724

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM/ARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners 11

POST Paris

(Time Received)

SERIAL 9829

1959 JUN 28 PM 3 32

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 620

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 33  
S/S-EX  
S/S-CMS  
S/S-O DIR  
MillRep  
Digest  
Task Force

AF 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 10 X 10  
NEA 8

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals and  
"S" Area

CU  
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Other

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S/PM  
S/R  
U/CF  
U/PN 1 - oh wn 7/8  
J/PM  
J/WP

WH 10 10  
VP  
DOD  
CIA 1  
USIA 4  
PC

TRANS  
CAB  
AEC 3  
NASA  
JUS  
FBI  
NIC  
NSA  
File  
Burned 2/10/69

0725

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Authority VND959503  
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

## AIRGRAM

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR AV 14 GHANA  
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RM/R 1	REP AF-1	AF
ARA	EUR 5	FE
NEA	CU	INR 5
E	P 2	IO 5
L	FBO	AID
S/S 10	S/P 1	J/P 1
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR 5
ARMY 3	CIA 20	NAVY 5
OSD 34	USIA 10	NSA 3
NSC 6		

A-165  
NO.

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : COTONOU, GENEVA, LAGOS, LONDON, CINCSTRIKE/CINCPACAFSA

FROM : AmEmbassy ACCRA

SUBJECT: Charges of Ghana-Nigeria Military Air Cooperation Denied

REF :

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
JUN 30 1 01 PM 1969RS/AN  
ANALYSIS  
DATE JUN 28, 1969

According to Reuters, Radio Biafra charged about June 17 that Ghana and Nigeria had reached an agreement allowing Nigerian air force planes to use Accra International Airport. While the Ghana Government here has made no public response of any kind to the Biafran charges, the Director of the Africa Division of the Ministry of External Affairs, L. O. ANTWI, has assured privately that they are completely without foundation. He also said that the Ghana High Commission in Lagos had issued a denial. He stated that he is at a loss to explain what motivated the Biafrans to make such charges at this time, since the Nigerians have asked for no special concessions and none of their military planes have used Accra Airport for some time.

Antwi, however, did find it curious that the charges were carried on Radio Biafra only about two days after officials of the International Red Cross had made a confidential request to the Ghana Government to allow Red Cross planes to use Accra International Airport as necessary over the next several months. He conjectured that distorted reports of the Red Cross initiative may have filtered back to Biafra.

With regard to the Red Cross request itself, Antwi added, as of June 26 the Ghana Government had still not made a decision. He indicated that both the National Liberation Council (NLC) and the Foreign Ministry are divided on the question: apparently there is strong sentiment in favor of granting the landing rights without further ado; but some other officials fear that this would imperil Ghana's relations with Lagos and are reluctant to act on the request unless the FMG concurs.

MCELHINEY

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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Drafted by:

P OL:DES:ih

6/28/69

Contents and Classification Approved by:  
DCM:JWFoley, Jr.

Clearances:

0726

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Authority VMD 954503  
By MVA Date 10/3/05



ORIGIN/ACTION		
RM/R	REP	AF
1	1	5
SCA	EUR	FE
1	1	5
NEA	SEC	INR
1	1	5
E	P	IO
12	2	3
L	FBO	AID
3	12	12
SPW	SPW	194
1	1	2
AGR	COM	FRB
10	10	10
INT	LAB	TAR
1	1	1
TR	XMB	AIR
4	5	5
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
NSC 6		

# AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AID (Can) Nigeria  
X/R  
Pol 27 Biafra Niger  
FOR RM USE ONLY

A-494		NO.	HANDLING INDICATOR
TO :	Department of State		
INFO :	Lagos, Accra		
FROM :	Amembassy OTTAWA		
SUBJECT :	Canadian Relief to Nigeria; Ghana Aid Meeting		
REF :	CA-1288		

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
JUN 30 1 03 PM 1969

RE/AN  
ANALYSIS  
DATE: June 28, 1969

Aid (Can) Nigeria  
Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria

An allocation of C\$1.8 million in food aid for Nigeria relief in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1970 was recently approved by Secretary of State for External Affairs Sharp. This includes C\$250,000 for use by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the remainder for shipments some time during the year of 1,000 tons of Canadian dried salt fish ~~to~~ to Nigeria and the same amount to Biafra. The overall Canadian aid allocation for the current fiscal year reported in A-476 shows a total of C\$2 million for food aid to Nigeria, which leaves C\$200,000 still uncommitted but available for further shipments later this year. In addition, as pointed out in A-476, there is an allocation of C\$3.69 for food aid in the general contingency fund which can be used for Nigerian relief should changing conditions there warrant it.

Noble Power, Head of the Commonwealth Africa Section of the Canadian International Development Agency Planning Division, who recently returned from a week's visit to Lagos, commented that most of the Nigerians he talked to expressed an interest in Canadian food aid but there was some question as to the country's capacity to absorb it. Shipments could not get through to Biafra at present, he added, but this might change in the future. He was not, however, optimistic about a cease fire.

Enclosure:  
Report on Ghana Aid *OW BMB*  
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Drafted by:	ECON:JB, Oh-Kahn:is	Contents and Classification Approved by:	ECON:WFXC6/105
Clearances:			

0727

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Authority VND 954/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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Ottawa A-494

-2-

Power also provided a copy of the confidential cable he sent from Paris reporting the Canadian views on the Ghana aid meeting, a copy of which is enclosed. He said that he and others at the meeting had been discouraged about Ghana's long range prospects after about 1972 because of the forecast decline in world cocoa prices. He also noted that many of the capable Ghanaian economic officials were disillusioned under the present government including Omaboe, head of the Ghanaian delegation to the Paris meeting, who he understood would be leaving to go to Harvard shortly.

(C\$1 = US\$ .925)

SMITH

*mc*

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



*Oct 27 Biafra - Nigeria*  
Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 717

PAGE: 01 LAGOS 05865 271443Z

45

ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, AID 28, UCF 05,

UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, RSR 01, I70 W  
042764

R: 271135Z JUN: 69

FM: AMEMBASSY LAGOS:

TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 7480

INFO: USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMCONSUL IBADAN

AMCONSUL KADUNA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS LAGOS 5865

SUBJECT: KADUNA RADIO COMMENTARY

REF: LAGOS 5842, PARA 1

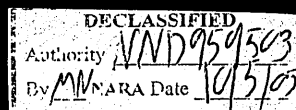
1. KADUNA RADIO AFTERNOON JUNE 26 IN "SPOTLIGHT COMMENTARY" DISCUSSES STATEMENT BY CHIEF AWOLOWO QUOTING HIM AS STATING THAT "IT MUST BE ACCEPTED THAT STARVATION LEGITIMATE WEAPON OF WAR WHICH HAS BEEN USED IN ALMOST EVERY WAR IN HISTORY WITH EXCEPTION OF NIGERIAN WAR". STATES THAT FROM BEGINNING FMG HAS RESISTED TEMPTATION TO USE STARVATION AND HAS DONE EVERYTHING TO INSURE FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES FIND THEIR WAY TO SICK AND HUNGRY ALL BECAUSE NIGERIANS BELIEVE THEY ARE NOT FIGHTING AN ENEMY BUT REBELLIOUS IBO BROTHERS WHO MUST BE REINTEGRATED.

2. ASKS THEORETICAL QUESTION "WHAT HAVE WE ACHIEVED AND WHAT HAS BEEN WORLD'S REACTION TO OUR CONCESSIONS AND HUMANITARIANSIM?" IT HAS BEEN MOST DISAPPOINTING. WE ARE ACCUSED RIGHT LEFT

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*LAGOS 5865  
6/27/69*

0729





Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 05865 271443Z

AND CENTER OF STARVING IBOS...OF WAGING WAR OF GENOCIDE.  
ALL WHEN IT IS CRYSTAL CLEAR NIGERIA NOT STUMBLING BLOCK  
TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. TO BIASED WORLD OJUKWU COMMITS  
NO CRIME DESPITE HIS INTRANSIGENCE OVER MOVEMENT OF RELIEF  
AND PEACE TALKS. THERE IS NO JUSTICE IN WORLD".

3. ACCUSES REBELS OF DIVERTING RELIEF SUPPLIES TO FEED ITS  
ARMY AND KEEPING MUCH OF IT FROM PEOPLE WHO REALLY NEED IT.  
STATES THAT NO MATTER HOW MUCH RELIEF GOES IN THERE WILL  
ALWAYS BE "SHOUTS OF STARVATION AMONG WOMEN, CHILDREN AND  
AGED BECAUSE THEY NOT IN POSITION TO QUALIFY TO JOIN OJUKWU  
ARMY AND THUS QUALIFY FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES. CRUX OF MATTER IS  
THAT IT IS OJUKWU WHO IS USING SUFFERING AS WEAPON OF WAR...WHO  
IS USING STARVATION TO AROUSE WORLD SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR  
ILL-ADVISED REBELLION...FOR US NIGERIAN WAR IS TOO BROTHERLY  
TO WARRANT STARVATION OF ALL THOSE IN REBEL-HELD AREA".

4. COMMENT: QUOTE FROM AWOLowo IS DIFFERENT FROM QUOTE IN  
JUNE 26 NEWSPAPERS WHICH QUOTED HIM AS SAYING ONLY THAT  
STARVATION LEGITIMATE WEAPON OF WAR WITHOUT THE ADDITION THAT  
NIGERIA HAS NOT USED IT. COMMENTARY SUMS UP GROWING FEELING,  
PARTICULARLY AMONG PUBLIC AND MEDIA, THAT NO MATTER WHAT FMG  
CONCEDES, REBELS ALWAYS SEEM ABLE TO BLOCK ANYTHING THAT  
CANNOT BE USED TO THEIR ADVANTAGE MILITARILY AND FOR  
PROPAGANDA, AND DO IT WITHOUT CENSURE.  
MATHEWS

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05





*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 05842 270857Z

19  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, AID 28, SCSE 00, SCÄ 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, /142 W

040341

R 261555Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7465  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 5842

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP JUNE 26

1. ALL PAPERS GIVE BIG PLAY TO AIRPORT INTERVIEW WITH  
COMFINANCE AWOLowo JUNE 25 UPON HIS RETURN FROM TOUR OF  
NORTHERN STATES. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT POST AND TRIBUNE  
HEADLINE HIS STATEMENT MADE IN REPLY TO QUESTION, THAT  
TIME HAS COME TO STOP ALL RELIEF SUPPLIES TO REBELS.  
QUOTED AS SAYING QTE ALL IS FAIR IN WAR AND STARVATION ONE  
OF WEAPONS OF WAR UNQTE. FURTHER QUOTED AS SAYING HE DID NOT  
SEE QTE WHY WE SHOULD FEED OUR ENEMY FAT TO FIGHT US HARDER  
UNQTE. WHEN ASKED FOR HIS FEELINGS ON RIVER RELIEF ROUTE  
OPERATION, QUOTED AS REPLYING QTE I CANNOT COMMENT ON THAT.  
THAT IS MATTER FOR THOSE IN CHARGE TO DECIDE UNQTE. POST  
AND TRIBUNE ALSO REPORT THESE STATEMENTS BUT POST HEADLINES  
HIS OFFICIAL COMMENTS THAT FMG WILL GIVE CASH ADVANCES TO

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*LAGOS 5842  
6/26/69*

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By: MN NARA Date: 10/3/05



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TELEGRAM

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THOSE STATE GOVERNMENTS WHICH ARE IN DEFICIT AND PRAISE FOR SIX NORTHERN STATES FOR EMPHASIS ON INCREASING EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND READINESS TO CONCENTRATE ON ROAD CONSTRUCTION WHICH BADLY NEEDED FOR EVACUATION OF STATES CASH CROPS AND PRODUCE. TRIBUNE HEADLINES HIS STATEMENTS THAT MINFINANCE STARTING CONSULTATIONS WITH DISTRIBUTORS OF AUTOMOBILES WITH VIEW TO FINDING WORKABLE FORMULA FOR DISTRIBUTORS GRANTING DEFERRED PAYMENT OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE SO IMPORTATION OF AUTOMOBILES CAN BEGIN AGAIN IN NIGERIA.

2. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT PILOT AND TRIBUNE REPORT ATTEMPTED AIR ATTACK ON BENIN CITY BY ONE REBEL PLANE AROUND 1:45 AM JUNE 25. AA GUNS DROVE PLANE AWAY. NO ROCKETS FIRED OR DAMAGE DONE. (COMMENT: THIS IS FIRST TIME REBEL PLANES REPORTED SIGHTED AT NIGHT.)

3. COS BRIG KATSINA QUOTED AS SAYING IN MID-WEST, WHERE HE IS ON TOUR OF 2ND DIVISION AFTER VISITING 3RD DIVISION LAST WEEK, THAT ANY REBEL COLLABORATORS FOUND SHOULD BE SHOT ON SIGHT. BLAMED LOCAL COLLABORATORS FOR AID WHICH ALLOWS REBELS TO OPERATE ON WEST BANK OF NIGER.

4. POST REPORTS STATEMENT BY MILGOV SOUTH-EAST STATE THAT SES PEOPLES NEED NOT BE WORRIED ABOUT PROPOSED RIVER RELIEF CORRIDOR. SAID HE HAD TOLD FMG OF SES PEOPLES FEARS ABOUT OPERATION AND HE HAD BEEN ASSURED THAT NOTHING WOULD BE DONE TO JEOPARDIZE SSS SECURITY AND THAT THEY WOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONFIDENCE THROUGH CONSULTATION AT EVERY STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF SCHEME.

5. TIMES CARRIES REUTERS FILE STORY REPORTING LINDT-FERGUSON MEETING IN GENEVA.

6. OBSERVER EDITORIAL QTE WHO GOES THERE-FRIEND OR FOE? UNQTE CONCLUDES QTE PRETENSE THAT COMMUNISTS OR CAPITALISTS ARE FRIENDS BASICALLY STUPID SELF-DECEIT IN WHICH ONLY FOOLS REVEL. AND YET AFTER ALL SAID AND DONE POOR AFRICA MUST SWALLOW ITS OWN SPEW BECAUSE IT POOR. IT MUST ALIGN ITSELF WITH ONE OR OTHER BUT IT MUST ALSO REALIZE PRINCIPLE FOR WHICH IT MUST MAKE CHOICE IS ONE OF CHOOSING BETWEEN TWO EVILS. IT IS SAD UNQTE. EARLIER IN EDITORIAL STATED QTE ACTUALLY AFRO-ASIAN BLOC IS ITS OWN AND ONLY FRIEND UNQTE. EDITORIAL

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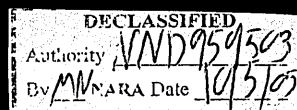
PAGE 03 LAGOS 05842 270857Z

CONTEXT IS NIGERIAN WHO ARGUE WHETHER US OR USSR SYSTEM  
BEST FOR NIGERIA.

7. TRIBUNE EDITORIAL AFTER STATING TRIBUNE NOT OPPOSED TO  
MEANINGFUL PEACE TALKS AND REITERATING ITS STAND THAT  
QTE WAR WILL HAVE TO END ON NEGOTIATION TABLE UNQTE GOES ON  
TO SAY AT THIS STAGE REBELS CLEARLY SHOW THEY NOT READY  
FOR MEANINGFUL PEACE TALKS. SAYS FMGS QTE ONLY CHOICE...  
IS TO BRING IT HOME TO REBELS THIS POLICY DOES NOT PAY AND  
TO CUT THEM OFF COMPLETELY FROM ALL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. FOR  
WITHOUT FOREIGN MILITARY AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE THEY CANNOT  
CONTINUE FOR LONG TO HOLD OUT. ONLY THEN WILL THEY BE READY  
FOR MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS UNQTE. MATHEWS

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 029

PAGE 01 LAGOS 05767 251851Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 146 W

028300

R 251205Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7420  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
USIA WASHDC  
BT  
UNCLAS LAGOS 5767

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP JUNE 25

1. ALL PAPERS REPORT FMG ANNOUNCEMENT OF NAF BOMBING OF  
REBEL NAVAL BASE ON EAST BANK NIGER RIVER AT ATANI.  
REPORT CLAIMS BUILDING, WORKSHOPS WHERE CANOES BUILT,  
AND AMMUNITION DUMP DESTROYED.

2. TIMES REPORTS THAT ALL FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN  
NIGERIA HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY LETTER FROM DIRECTOR OF INFO,  
EPELLE, THAT IN FUTURE THEY FORBIDDEN TO HAVE DIRECT  
CONTACT WITH MILITARY OFFICERS. CORRESPONDENTS TOLD THEY  
MUST RESTRICT CONTACTS TO MININFO OFFICIALS AND PERMSEC  
OF MINDEFENSE. ORIGIN OF BAN SPECULATED TO HAVE COME FROM  
EXPELLING OF BBC CORRESPONDENT WHO IS ACCUSED OF MISQUOTE.

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By MVA Date 10/5/05





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ING CHIEF OF NAF COL. ALSO ABOUT SHOOTING DOWN OF ICRC PLANE EARLIER THIS MONTH.

3. POST IS ONLY PAPER SO FAR TO PICK UP ANNOUNCEMENT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON ACCEPTED RESIGNATION OF AMB. MATHEWS AND NO SUCCESSOR YET NAMED. REPORT WAS ALSO CARRIED LOCAL RADIO AND TV.

4. TIMES, POST AND OBSERVER REPORT AIRPORT INTERVIEW WITH OAU ASST SEC GEN SAHNOUN PASSING THROUGH LAGOS EN ROUTE TO EG. SAHNOUN REPORTEDLY SAID QTE BEHIND-SCENES ACTIVITIES STILL GOING ON WITHIN OAU TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO NIGERIAN CRISIS UNQTE. SAHNOUN SCHEDULED TO RETURN TO LAGOS JUNE 29 FOR TALKS WITH FMG OFFICIALS.

5. POST CARRIES PAGE AND HALF PAEAN OF PRAISE TO UNICEF SPONSORED HELICOPTER OPERATION WHICH WAS BEING RUN BY R. ROBARDS AND WHICH HAS BEEN PHASED OUT. CALLS IT QTE GENUINE HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATION...WHO HAVE NOT INTERFERED IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF EITHER STATE OF FMG...AS OPPOSED TO DUBIOUS AND DISCREDITED ICRC UNQTE.

6. POST ARTICLE BY QTE OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT UNQTE TITLED QTE IMPERIALIST INSINUATIONS UNQTEI REVIEWS VARIOUS ENGLISH PAPERS AND MAGAZINES COMMENTS ON QTE ALLEGED SOVIET PENETRATION UNQTE OF NIGERIA AND CRITICIZES:

THEM AND WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. SAYS THAT THEY UPSET BY QTE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-NIGERIAN RELATIONS UNQTE BUT THAT SOVIETS TREAT NIGERIA AS EQUAL WHILE WESTERNERS ENGAGED IN QTE DOUBLE-DEALING UNQTE AND ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE NIGERIAN UNITY. THUS NIGERIANS WILL NOT BELIEVE THESE ANTI-SOVIET INSINUATIONS. MATHEWS

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By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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*Intelligence  
Note* - 493

June 25, 1969

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *by H.C.D.*  
Subject: NIGERIA: The Bloodshed Continues

The Nigerian civil war will enter its third year on July 6, but neither side is yet willing to abandon its war aims. Barring the unexpected cessation of outside arms aid to one side or the other, the prospect is for more of the same: slow, grinding warfare with no end in sight.

Stalemate on the Fighting Front. Neither of the contestants seems able to break the present military deadlock. The large (85,000) and well-equipped Federal Nigerian army has overrun three-fifths of Biafra's original territory and has laid siege to the remainder. Armed with modern weapons supplied by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and a score of European arms dealers, it has captured three rebel administrative capitals in succession, sacked many centers of Ibo population and trade, and cut Biafra off from most sources of modern fuels and power. Federal forces, however, have been unable to stop rebel commando raids deep behind Nigerian lines. They have also failed to destroy the Biafran army, or to sever the airborne supply line that keeps Biafra alive.

Biafra Defiant. Both Biafra and Nigeria enjoy a large measure of war-imposed unity, but Biafra is probably more politically united than the Nigerian federation. Biafran civilian and military morale is high--bolstered by continued strong support from France (whose clandestine intervention

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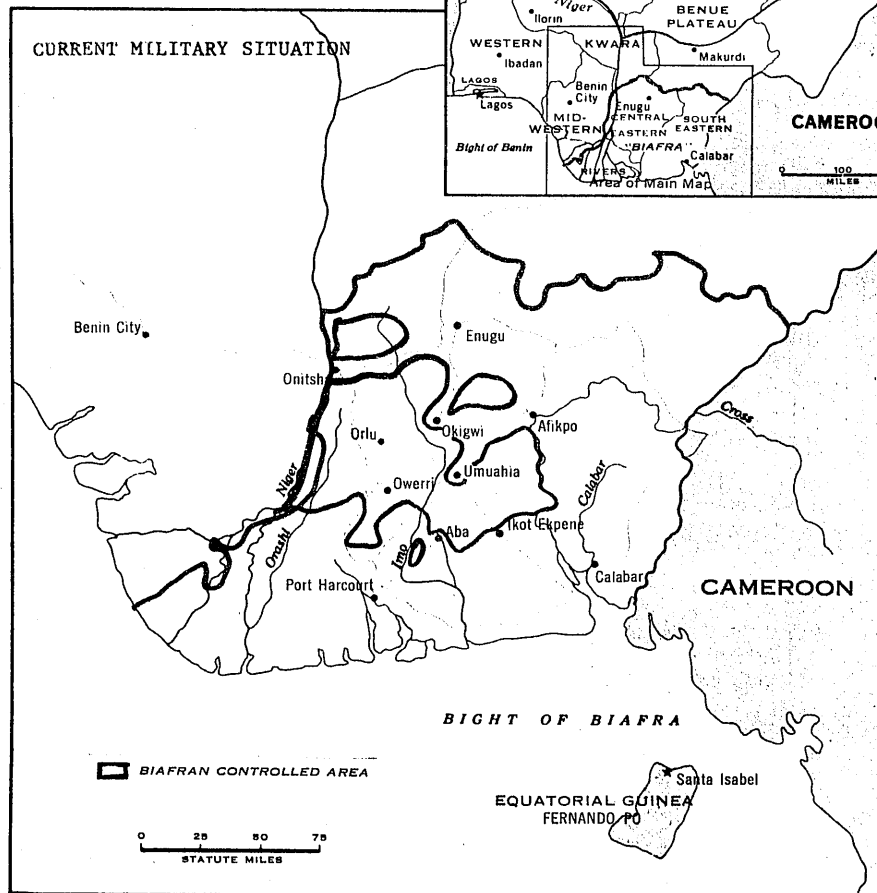
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Authority: VND 959/503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/3/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

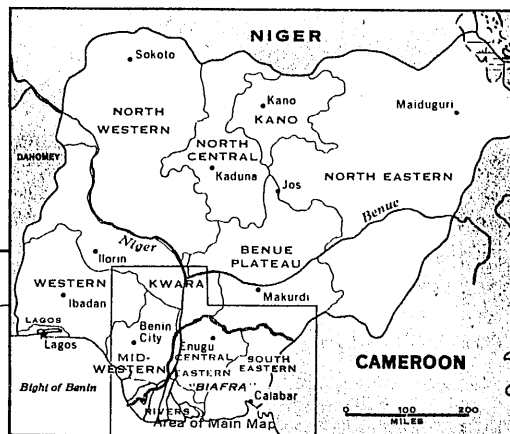
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

# SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA



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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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probably saved Biafra from defeat in 1968) and from the four African states (Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast, and Zambia) that have granted both aid and diplomatic recognition. The outnumbered rebel army may lack spit and polish, but it is better armed and better led than ever, and has recently scored impressive successes against Federal forces on the southern front. The rebel government is dispersed and now operates from scattered offices in Ibo villages, but it too continues to function effectively.

Civilian Suffering. The unity and defiance of Biafra's Ibo tribesmen stem at least in part from fear of extermination at the hands of Federal troops. Hundreds of thousands of refugees--most but not all of them Ibos--have fled into Biafra's shrunken perimeter, swelling its population to an estimated five to seven million persons. The resulting malnutrition and starvation was for many months controlled by an emergency airlift of food. This international mercy operation has now come virtually to a halt following a series of Federal air attacks on relief aircraft. Despite emergency plantings under Ojukwu's "Land Army" scheme, Biafra cannot adequately feed itself for long. Nevertheless, it has repeatedly refused to accept Federal offers of cooperation in transporting through the lines badly needed high-protein foods and medicines.

Slim Hopes for Diplomacy. Despite continuing efforts by African and Commonwealth diplomats, neither side is yet willing to make concessions that might lead to substantive peace talks. Nigeria demands the surrender of Biafra's armed forces and refuses to consider a ceasefire until secession is renounced. Biafra will discuss nothing except an unconditional

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ceasefire. The secessionists continue to hope that, if they can hold out long enough, Nigeria's foreign friends will begin to lose heart and will eventually force Lagos to accept Biafran independence. Until one side or the other loses access to the supplies of arms each must have from abroad to prosecute the war, there seems little prospect for an early end to the fighting.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

SECRET 082

*42 Pol 15-1 Biafra*

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, RSR 01, JPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01,

CIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, UCF 05, L 03, DODE 00, /102 W  
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R 251755Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1264  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA

SECRET LONDON 5010

SUBJ: NIGERIA: EMPEROR WOULD LIKE TO SEE OJUKWU

1. FONOFF'S MAURICE FOLEY (PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECY) TELLS US THAT WHEN HAILE SELASSIE PASSED THROUGH LONDON RECENTLY HE EXPRESSED WISH THAT OJUKWU WOULD COME TO ADDIS TO DISCUSS PEACE SETTLEMENT. WHILE FOLEY IS CERTAIN IDEA IS NON-STARTER, PERIPATETIC BRITISH PHILANTHROPIST GROUP CAPT CHESHIRE IS ATTEMPTING CONTACT BIAFRAN REP MOJEKWU IN GENEVA TO OBTAIN OJUKWU'S REACTION.  
ANNENBERG

*London - 5010  
6-25-69*

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

ORDER/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**AIRGRAM**POL 27 BIAFRA-  
NIGERIA

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RM/R 1	REP 5	AF 5
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TR XMB	AIR	
ARMY 3	CIA 20	NAVY 5
OSO 34	USIA 10	NSA 3
NSC 6		

A-247

CONFIDENTIAL

XR POL 17 NIGERIA-SWE

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

Info : GENEVA, HAGUE, HELSINKI, LAGOS, OSLO, REYKJAVIK,  
STOCKHOLM

FROM : Amembassy COPENHAGEN

SUBJECT : Nigeria - Biafra

REF : Oslo 2416, Stockholm A-295, Helsinki

RECEIVED  
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JUL 24 1969  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

William Thune Andersen of Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs described the views of the Scandinavians at the Nordic meeting which took place June 17 in Stockholm on aid to Nigeria and Biafra. He said that the participants were encouraged that inasmuch as the two disputing parties were able to reach agreement on permitting river transport to reach the needy Biafrans, they eventually might be able to reach some sort of agreement which would end the war. They also felt that the September meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa might be productive in getting the OAU to successfully mediate since Emperor Haile Selassie, according to Thune Andersen, is the only one the Scandinavians believe is respected by both Nigerians and Biafrans.

The current round of accusations against the ICRC, the church aid organization, Dr. Lindt, etc., however, has not eased the situation, Thune Andersen reported. (Comment: Thune Andersen has noted in the past that unless the humanitarian aid program can succeed, the Scandinavians and others believe there is little hope for a political settlement.) He noted the statements made in Oslo by Biafran "Home Affairs Minister" Christopher Mojekwu (Oslo 2416) which he felt do harm to the Biafran cause and gave rise to a rather sharply-worded retort by Norwegian officials, an unprecedented response.

Thune Andersen acknowledged that B. A. Clark, Under Secretary of State of Nigeria, visited Copenhagen recently to discuss the

GROUP 4

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Contents and Classification Approved by:

DCM:BEBlankinship

Clearances:

POL:EPSn; ECON:EMQuick (in draft)

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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Copenhagen A-247<sup>2</sup>

opening of a Nigerian Embassy here. Clark told the Danes that Nigeria will open Embassies in Stockholm, Oslo, Helsinki and Copenhagen, the Ambassador to all being resident in Stockholm but each would have a 'Charge' d'Affaires.

On the other hand, Thune Andersen said that the Biafrans have not discussed opening of an information office similar to the one they established in Stockholm (Stockholm's A-295). He added, however, that it is likely the Biafran office in Stockholm will coordinate activities here with Danish pro-Biafra elements who, he said, can be easily counted upon to do most of the work necessary and provide all the funds.

Most recent Biafran representative who has visited here has been Eyoma Ita Eyoma who gave Prime Minister Baunsgaard on June 10 a letter from Colonel Ojukwu to the Prime Minister requesting that Denmark recognize Biafra. The letter did not contain the other requests enumerated in the letter from Ojukwu to the Finnish Prime Minister (Helsinki's 551). According to Thune Andersen, the Prime Minister made no response to the Biafran request. He added that the Nordics at the meeting in Stockholm June 17 decided as a group not to respond to the Biafran requests. Furthermore, Thune Andersen told the reporting officer June 20 that he had given the Prime Minister the same day a position paper recommending that no further action be taken, which advice he expects the Prime Minister will follow.

Thune Andersen said that Eyoma's meeting with the Prime Minister had been brief and that nothing further had been discussed. He added that Eyoma had spent the rest of his time with the local press and Biafran supporters. The press (several newspapers) reported Eyoma's delivery of Ojukwu's letter and that he said at the press conference, "I told Prime Minister Baunsgaard that we do not consider Denmark's neutrality positive. In fact we do not consider it as real neutrality as one cannot be neutral when recognizing only one country in a war." However, he praised Scandinavian humanitarian aid efforts "without which I do not know how we could have survived."

Comment: The Danes would like to participate in helping the two sides to reach a settlement but they apparently do not know how. Although diplomatic recognition of Biafra is not being accorded, in all other ways the Danes are actively dealing with two separate political entities, both of which are establishing themselves more firmly in Scandinavia.

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**AIRGRAM**

Original to be Filed in \_\_\_\_\_ Decentralized Files.

POL 57 BIAFRA NIGERIA

FILE DESIGNATION

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A-213

NO.

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

JUN 23 8 40 AM 1969

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : Amembassy Lusaka

DATE: June 20, 1969

SUBJECT : POLITICAL BRIEFS: Possible Zambian Initiatives To End Nigerian War

REF :

The TIMES OF ZAMBIA in a June 19, 1969 story dated Dar es Salaam reported that Zambia is believed to be preparing a new plan to end the Nigerian-Biafran war. The article quoted Mr. Austin Okwu, Biafran representative to East and Central Africa, as saying "We do not have full details of the plan but it will have our blessing." Mr. Okwu added that a solution arranged by African friends of Biafra would be more satisfactory than any new initiatives from the Organization of African Unity, which he described as completely ineffective. The article went on to say that a spokesman from the Zambian Ministry of Foreign Affairs declined to discuss the Zambian move and would only say that details would not be announced for some time.

Another evidence of continuing Zambian sympathy for Biafra was a June 19 appeal by the acting mayor of Lusaka, Mr. Fleetfort Chirwa, to ballroom dancing clubs throughout Zambia to hold dances to raise funds for Biafran relief. Mr. Chirwa requested that funds be collected and donated to the Zambian Red Cross, which is in need of money and material for Biafra.

EDMONDSON

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Drafting Date: June 20, 1969

Phone No.:

Contents and Classification Approved by:

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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AF-5				AIRGRAM			
Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.				LIMITED OFFICIAL USE		A-100	
HANDLING INDICATOR				(Unclassified Encrypted)		NO.	
RS/R	REP	AF	ARA	TO : Department of State			
EUR	FE	NEA	CU	INFO : KADUNA, LAGOS			
5			3	JUN 27 1 44 PM 1969			
INR	E	P	IO	RS:AM ANALYSIS BRANCH			
5		2	5	FROM : Amconsul IBADAN			
L	FBO	AIO	7P	SUBJECT : Adekunle Visits Ibadan			
		30	1	DATE: June 19, 1969			
		4Y	7/1	REF :			
AGR	COM	FBO	INT	<p>From May 30 to June 1, 1969, Colonel Benjamin A. Adekunle, newly appointed Director of Plans and Training, made his first public visit to Ibadan since he was replaced as General Officer Commanding the Third Marine Commando.</p> <p>His first appearance during his visit was on the Western State-owned WNTV in the evening of May 30. Although the program was not seen by the reporting officer, several persons have commented in the same vein on the "black scorpion's" performance. He was reportedly in a belligerent mood which was attributed to his being on the defensive. Adekunle said that the fall of Owerri was due to a lack of co-ordination between the three divisions. He said that there was a lack of air support due to the rains. The cloud cover also prevented air drops to the troops. Later on he said that he liked fighting in the rain.</p> <p>Adekunle was a guest at an all-night dance organized by the Ibadan Branch of the Nigerian Union of Journalists later the same night. He made a short speech during which he emphasized his oft-repeated point that he is a Nigerian first and that he comes from a particular area within Nigeria second. He observed that one of the difficulties in Nigeria was that too many people thought of themselves as members of tribes first and as Nigerians second.</p> <p>Adekunle next appeared as the guest of honor at an all-night dance given by the Ogbomosho Investment Club on May 31. The reporting</p> <p>Enclosure: 24 h 24. "WAR - Why its Been so Long," by Titus Ogunwale, <u>Daily Sketch</u>, Mon. 6/2/69 Exempt from Automatic Decontrol. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE</p>			
LAB	TAR	TR	XM				
AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSD				
5	3	5	34				
USTA	NSA	CIA	NSC				
10	3	20	6				
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Action Taken:							
Date:				FORM 10-64 DS-323			
Initials:				For Department Use Only			
Drafted by:	WCMithoefer, Jr.:gor			Drafting Date:		6/16/69	
Clearances:				Phone No.:			
				Contents unclassified Approved by:		WCMithoefer, Jr.	

0744

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 954503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/3/05

REPT. DISTRIBUTION CLASSIFICATION				DEPARTMENT OF STATE		CSM 6 NIGERIA XR POL 27 BIAIRA- NIGERIA	
AIRGRAM				Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.		FILE DESIGNATION	
RS/R	REP	AF	ARA	CONFIDENTIAL A-108 (Unclassified Enclosures) RECEIVED DEPT OF STATE NO.			
EUR	FE	NEA	CU	TO : Department of State			
INR	E	P	IO	INFO : KADUNA, LAGOS			
L	FBO	AID	S/P	JUN 27 1 44 PM 1969			
S/R	ORM	2/PW	2/5	RCZAH ANALYSIS BRANCH			
1	2	1	10				
AGR	COM	FRB	INT	FROM : Amconsul IBADAN			
LAB	TAR	TR	XMB	DATE: June 19, 1969			
AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSD	SUBJECT : Nigerian Patriotic Front (NPF) Letter			
USIA	NSA	CIA		REF : Ibadan Tel 162			
NSC	6			<p>The full text of the letter written by the NPF and published in the June 18, 1969, Mid-West Stated-owned <u>Nigerian Observer</u>, is being submitted as an attachment to this airgram (enclosure number 1). The editorial published in <u>Nigerian Opinion</u>, Magazine of the Nigerian Current Affairs Society at the University of Ibadan, which Professor Jerry Wells (see reftel) of the University of Ibadan*claims was the first overt manifestation of the current mood at the University is also attached (see enclosure number 2).</p> <p>On June 19, the reporting officer had a discussion on current attitudes of Nigerian doctors with Professor Stan Bohrer (Amcit-protect), Head of the Department of Radiology at the University College Hospital of the University of Ibadan. He confirmed most of the points made by Wells the previous day. Bohrer has been at the hospital over five years and has many Nigerian friends in the hospital and University communities. He has coffee with Nigerian doctors every day. He had not heard of either the letter or the NPF.</p> <p>* Visiting from University of Pittsburgh</p> <p>Enclosures:</p> <p>2. "Why Relief Bodies Must Quit Nigeria Now!" An open letter to General Gowon and the Supreme Military Council by the Nigerian Patriotic Front, University of Ibadan, <u>Nigerian Observer</u>, June 18, 1969.</p> <p>2. "War or Game?", <u>Nigerian Opinion</u>, Vol. 5, Nos. 3 and 4, March and April 1969</p>			
SUGGESTED DISTRIBUTION							
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TO:	Action	Info.	Initials				
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Drafted by:				FORM 10-64 DS-323			
WCMithoefer, Jr:gor				Drafting Date: 6/20/69			
Clearances:				Phone No.: _____			
				Contents and Classification Approved by: WCMITHOEFER, Jr.			
				For Department Use Only <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> In <input type="checkbox"/> Out			

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By: MM NARA Date: 10/5/05

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2

He said that his Nigerian friends are all "war weary." By this he did not mean that they favor "peace at any price," for no one was willing to agree to let the rebels secede. They are "war weary" in the sense that they are tired of the war dragging on for such a long time. Bohrer says that the Nigerian doctors are constantly alluding to the "high living" of the army officers and that many are convinced that many in the army do not want the war to end. The feeling is that the officers like their present position of power and influence and they do not wish to bring about the circumstances where there will be agitation for an early return to civilian rule - ending the war is one of those circumstances. Bohrer said that there is general resentment over the international humanitarian organizations. He said that his Nigerian friends have come to the conclusion that only Nigeria can decide for herself what is best for Nigeria. The Nigerians are suspicious of all of the "big powers," including (and perhaps, especially), Russia, and they do not believe that the humanitarian organizations themselves are acting from unselfish motives. In short, his Nigerian friends are almost unanimous in questioning the motives of all outsiders, whether they are countries or organizations. Bohrer feels that the U.S. is being attacked because of our strong support for the activities of the ICRC and JCA. Both he and Wells implied that if the U.S. supported the Nigerian Red Cross and the Federal Rehabilitation Committee, then the major prop would be knocked out from this argument. However, Bohrer also feels that regardless of what the U.S. does, with the current mood the way it is among his friends, our motives will still be viewed with suspicion.

On June 19, the reporting officer spoke to Professor Olumbe Bassir, the well-known "Marxist Babbit" at the University, about the NPF. Bassir disclaimed any knowledge of the organization or of whether it is a successor to the January 4 Joint Front. Bassir, it must be observed, has not always told the truth in the past.

From what has developed so far it is not clear whether Tayo Akpata's NPF is the same as that of Commissioner Yerokun's NPF (Ibadan's A-86). It is entirely possible that Akpata either deliberately or inadvertently jumped the gun on the launching of this new Marxist-Leninist organization.

  
MITHOEFERCONFIDENTIAL

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
TR PET 6 NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 787

PAGE 01 LAGOS 05562 191303Z

53  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, COM 08, INT 06, IO 13, AID 28,  
UCF 05, O 02, OPR 02, SY 03, UPW 01, RSR 01, 185 W  
118665

P R 191205Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7295  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
DIA  
CINCSRIKE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 5562

SUBJ: AIR ATTACK ON OIL INSTALLATIONS

REF: LAGOS 5272

1. SHELL-BP REVEALS THAT SMALL BIAFRAN AIRCRAFT ATTACHED UGHELLI OIL FIELD INSTALLATION, MID-WESTERN STATE, JUNE 18 AT 10:00 AM. TOTAL OF SEVEN ROCKETS FIRED, FOUR OF WHICH STRUCK OIL STORAGE TANK CAUSING QUOTE SERIOUS UNQUOTE DAMAGE. NO FIRE SINCE TANK NOT YET FILLED WITH OIL. TANK IS ONE OF FOUR TO BE USED ON NEW EVACUATION SYSTEM SCHEDULED START OPERATION IN JULY. COMPANY HAS NOT YET FULLY ASSESSED DAMAGE AND DOESN'T KNOW WHAT EFFECT STRIKE MAY HAVE ON PRODUCTION THROUGH NEW SYSTEM. SINCE ONLY MINIMUM OF STORAGE CAPACITY HAS BEEN BUILT AT UGHELLI PENDING CONSTRUCTION PERMANENT STORAGE TERMINAL AT FORCADOS, LOSS OF TANK COULD HAVE EFFECT ON MID-WESTERN OPERATIONS FOR SEVERAL MONTHS IF NOT SUSCEPTIBLE OF QUICK REPAIR. NO PUBLICITY THUS FAR ON RAID. CURRENT PRODUCTION OF MID-WESTERN OIL, WHICH FLOWS EASTWARD THROUGH TRANS-NIGER PIPELINE TO BONNY, NOT AFFECTED.

2. SHELL-BP APPEARS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT ATTACK, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT SECOND AIR ATTACK AT UGHELLI IN THREE WEEKS, AND WILL BE CONSIDERING WHETHER TO SUSPEND

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 05562 191303Z

SOME LESS ESSENTIAL ACTIVITIES IN MID-WEST AND POSSIBLE REMOVAL OF EMPLOYEE FAMILIES FROM WARRI AREA, EITHER ON SELECTIVE OR BLANKET BASIS. COMPANY HAD ALREADY REMOVED DEPENDENTS FROM UGHELLI TO WARRI AFTER ATTACK ON UGHELLI POWER PLANT. THEY PROMISE INFORM US PROMPTLY IF THEY DECIDE REMOVE DEPENDENTS SINCE SOME AMERICAN DEPENDENTS WOULD NO DOUBT WISH TO LEAVE IF SHELL-BP EXODUS STARTS.

3. SHELL-BP INFORMED US ALSO THAT WHAT IS ASSUMED TO BE BIAFRAN RAIDING PARTY BLEW UP TWO SIX-INCH OIL PIPELINES CONNECTING IMO RIVER AND OZA FIELDS NORTHEAST OF PORT HARCOURT TWO WEEKS AGO. LOCATION ABOUT 20 MILES FROM PORT HARCOURT, HALF-WAY BETWEEN PH AND ABA. ATTACK REDUCED PRODUCTION FROM IMO RIVER FIELD BUT WAS NOT NECESSARY SHUT IT DOWN ALTOGETHER. CREW UNDER ARMED ESCORT SCHEDULED REPAIR BREAKS TODAY, ALLOWING RESUMPTION FULL PRODUCTION. THIS ATTACK WAS KEPT SECRET FROM ALL BUT FMG BUT RUMORS HAVE BEGUN TO CIRCULATE IN PAST FEW DAYS.  
GP-3 MATHEWS

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

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113

PAGE 01 LONDON 04732 171530Z

*Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria*

*for Pol 30 UK*

*Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria*

44  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, AIO 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,

SCA 01, CIAE 00, DOOE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W  
104077

R 171435Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1076  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LONDON 4732

SUBJ: EXPULSION OF DR. AUGUST LINDT FROM NIGERIA

1. GUARDIAN AND TIMES JUNE 16 COMMENTED ON EXPULSION. ACTION REGARDED AS REGRETTABLE ERROR BY FMG.

2. GUARDIAN -- EDITORIAL DISCUSSED REASONS FOR DISMISSAL BUT COMMENTED "GENERAL OJUKWU HAD WELCOME SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE OILMEN HIS GOVERNMENT HAD CONDEMNED TO DEATH -- AND GEN GOWON OUGHT TO COOL OFF ABOUT THE RED CROSS. THAT BIAFRANS SHOULD STARVE IS NOT IN NIGERIA'S INTEREST." GUARDIAN ARTICLE, "NIGERIA EXPELS A FRIEND" BY HELLA PICK COMMENTED THAT EXPULSION IS "DEEPLY REGRETTED, ESPECIALLY BY THE STAUNCHEST SUPPORTERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT."

OF DR. LINDT IT SAID, HE CARES DEEPLY AND BROUGHT A GENUINE DESIRE TO HELP NIGERIA... UNDER HIS DIRECTION AND PERSISTENCE, THE RED CROSS RELIEF WORK BECAME WORTHY OF ITS NAME." LINDT THE ARTICLE INDICATED "BROUGHT TO HIS JOB ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERTISE" AND "NONE OF THE PARTIALITY TOWARDS BIAFRA THAT CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS COMMITTEE, ALL OF WHOM ARE DRAWN FROM GENEVA, HAVE TENDED TO DISPLAY."

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*London - 4732  
6-17-69*

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Authority VND 959/503  
By MNARA Date 10/3/05

Rem



Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR Pol 3 OAU  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 440

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00383 161831Z

47  
ACTION AE 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, /157 W

100580

R 161420Z APR 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2496  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 383

SUBJECT: OAU NIGERIA CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

WISH NOTE THAT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY'S MYSTERE 20 ARRIVED LIBREVILLE  
LATE LAST NIGHT OR EARLY TODAY, APRIL 16. HAVE NO INDICATION AS  
YET PURPOSE OF PLANE'S PRESENCE BUT, SINCE IT USED ON NUMBER OF  
OCCASIONS IN PAST TRANSPORT QUUKWU AND OTHER BIAFRANS, IT PERHAPS  
HERE ON THIS OCCASION TO PICK UP BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES POSSIBLY  
PLANNING GO MONROVIA DURING MEETING OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON  
NIGERIA, APRIL 18-19.  
BANE

Libreville 383  
6-16-69

2

CONFIDENTIAL

0750

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 95/503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



11  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

SECRET  
NO FOREIGN DISSEM  
CONTROLLED DISSEM

*Intelligence  
Note* - 465

June 16, 1969

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *tlw*  
Subject: NIGERIA: Relief Effort in Danger

The international relief agencies that are aiding up to three million war refugees in Nigeria and Biafra may be forced either to accept stringent controls imposed by the Federal Military Government in Lagos, or further reduce their operations on both sides of the fighting front. There is also a real danger that Lagos may step up its attempts to interdict all nighttime flights--including relief flights--into Biafran territory.

Lagos Reacts to Biafran Air Strikes. The current relief crisis was sparked by the recent series of well-publicized Biafran air raids against virtually undefended Nigerian military air bases. Stung by these rebel successes, hardlining military and civilian officials in Lagos have seized upon the raids as an excuse to press Federal leader General Gowon to interdict all relief flights into Biafra and to close down the operations of Western humanitarian organizations in Federal-held territory. These officials have long believed that food relief is the same as military aid and that, at minimum, it has bolstered Biafra's ability to hold out. Moreover, they are now convinced that Biafra's airborne life line--which carries both relief and military supplies--must be cut if Nigeria is to achieve military victory.

4  
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CONTROLLED DISSEM

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XE SOC 3 RED CROSS  
XE POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XE DEF 12-5 BIAFRA

GROUP 1  
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DOWNGRADING AND  
DECLASSIFICATION

0751

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

RS/R

8704

36

June 13, 1969

Dear Mr. Hunt:

Secretary Rogers has asked me to reply to your letter of May 29 forwarding Enrolled House Joint Memorial 18 regarding the civil war in Nigeria.

The Department of State shares the concern of the members of the Oregon Legislative Assembly regarding the suffering of innocent people on both sides as a result of the Nigerian conflict. The US Government has demonstrated this concern by making available approximately \$60 million for the international relief effort on both sides. This infusion of relief has greatly reduced the number of deaths in the war zone and the US Government will continue to seek every means of relieving the suffering.

The Department of State has urged both sides to reach a peaceful solution. We have strongly supported the peace efforts of the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and individual African leaders. Without intervening directly, we will continue to support any effort that offers hope of bringing about a peaceful settlement.

The Department of State appreciates the suggestions and interest of the Oregon Legislative Assembly concerning this tragic problem. I am enclosing more detailed information on the Nigerian problem and US relief activities which may be of interest to the memorialists. If you would like additional information, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Abram E. Manell  
Deputy Special Assistant to  
the Secretary for Liaison  
with the Governors

1820 704 10 00 18 58  
Enclosure: 10 00 18 58  
The Nigerian Relief Problem

Mr. Winton J. Hunt,  
Chief Clerk,  
House of Representatives,  
Salem, Oregon.

AF/W:DFS:ba 6/9/69 S/S #8704 RS 314223

Clearance:  
AF-Amb. Moore 70. H-882

Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria

0752

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 954503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

FORM DS-1563  
12-63

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

**ACTION SLIP**  
(To Remain With Correspondence)

CONTROL NO.

8704

**AFW**

TO

AF - Mr. Alexander

DATE

June 5, 1969

SUBJECT

Ltr to S fm Winton J. Hunt, dtd 5/29/69

**ACTION**

\*Prompt handling is essential. Return basic correspondence with reply. If delayed call telephone extension below.

For appropriate action.

For direct reply. -- Comeback copy required

XXXXXXXXXXXX A response for signature by ~~xxx~~ S/GOV - Mr. Manell

Prepare reply.

Clear with

Prepare a \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

Refer to White House request of \_\_\_\_\_

Due in ~~XXXXX~~ S/GOV by 6/10/69

XXXXXXXXXXXX

For your information.

REMARKS

OFFICE OF THE ASST.  
SECRETARY... AF

1969 JUN 5 PM 5 01

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

COPIES TO

S - Mr. Okun (w/att)  
U - Mr. Stempel (w/att)  
S/GOV - Mr. Manell (w/att)  
IO - Mr. Garland (w/att)  
P - Mr. Cheshes (w/att)  
H - Mr. Briggs (w/att)

*gfk* George Kelly

SECRETARIAT STAFF

EXT. 4735

0753

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Authority *VND 954503*  
By *MM* NARA Date *10/5/05*

HOME ADDRESS  
WINTON J. HUNT  
410 CANDALARIA BLVD., S.  
SALEM, OREGON 97302



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
SALEM, OREGON  
97310

May 29, 1969

65  
CHIEF CLERK

ACTION  
is assigned to

AF

8704

The Honorable William Rogers  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Secretary Rogers:

I have been directed by the 55th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon to forward the enclosed Enrolled House Joint Memorial 18 for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Winton J. Hunt  
Chief Clerk  
House of Representatives

WJH:m1  
Encl.

*attached*

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1969 JUL 3 AM 10 07

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

4 14223

6/2/69

Ps L 27 Bishop - Nigerian

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Authority VMD 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

Enrolled  
**House Joint Memorial 18**

Sponsored by Representatives STATHOS, HEARD, BROWNE, DUGDALE,  
HARTUNG, McKENZIE, RIPPER, WINGARD, Senators ATIYEH,  
ELFSTROM

*To the President of the United States and to the Senate and House of  
Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:*

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fifth Legislative Assembly of the State  
of Oregon, respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the war in Nigeria is bringing about untold suffering on the  
part of many and particularly the beleaguered peoples of Biafra; now,  
therefore,

*Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:*

(1) The President of the United States and the Congress of the United  
States are urged to continue the initiative in exercising every peaceful ef-  
fort to bring about a cease-fire in Biafra and to extend aid to the starving  
peoples of Biafra.

(2) The Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives shall send a copy  
of this memorial to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of  
State, and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

0 7 5 5

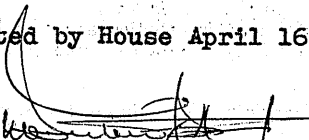
DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

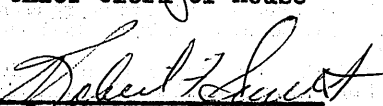
81. *Indonesian*

ENROLLED

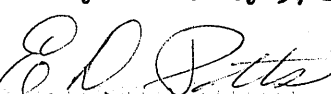
HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL 18

Adopted by House April 16, 1969

  
Chief Clerk of House

  
Speaker of House

Adopted by Senate May 5, 1969

  
President of Senate

0756

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority *VND 959503*  
By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/03*



Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 PARIS 08841 121228Z

43  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 07, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, UCF 05,

UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 154 W  
----- 071690

R 121200Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4535  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY ROME

UNCLAS PARIS 8841

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. BIAFRAN "MINISTER OF INTERIOR" M. MOJEKWU MADE STATEMENT TO PARIS PRESS JUNE 10 ON AFFAIR OF ITALIAN PETROLEUM WORKERS. HE SAID THAT "NO RANSOM HAS EVER BEEN ASKED BY BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES IN EXCHANGE FOR LIBERATION OF 18 TECHNICIANS" AND THAT THEY HAD BEEN REGULARLY TRIED "AS IS COMMON USAGE IN CIVILIZED WORLD". OJUKWU'S DECISION TO PARDON THEM "WAS INSPIRED BY HIS RESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE". MOJEKWU STATED THAT SINCE BIAFRA IS AT WAR IT HAS "RIGHT TO ASK RESPECT FOR OUR EMERGENCY REGULATION" AND THAT "STRANGERS OPERATE IN WAR ZONES AT THEIR OWN RISK AND PERIL".

2. CONCERNING END OF WAR, MOJEKWU SAID HE COULD SEE NONE "IF NIGERIA DEMANDS THAT BIAFRA REJOIN THE FEDERATION" AND THAT "WE CAN NO LONGER RENOUNCE OUR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION WHATEVER MIGHT BE GUARANTEES OFFERED TO BIAFRA". HE ADDED THAT "THE TIME IS PAST WHEN WE COULD SACRIFICE OUR INDEPENDENCE IN EXCHANGE FOR SIMPLE PROMISES". HOWEVER, WE ARE STILL READY TO CONCLUDE "GOOD NEIGHBOR AGREEMENT" WITH NIGERIA.

3. CONCERNING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR BIAFRA, MOJEKWU SAID THAT ONLY WAY TO SEE WHETHER ALL PEOPLES OF BIAFRA WISH TO REMAIN UNDER SINGLE FLAG IS THROUGH "PLEBISCITE UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL IN REGIONS CLAIMED TO BE CONTESTED".

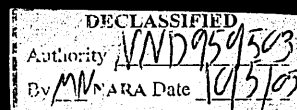
SHRIVER

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27

PARIS-8841  
6-12-69

0757



(11)

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
x POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET  
Classification

094852  
JUN 11 2025  
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Origin ACTION: Amembassy COTONOU IMMEDIATE

Info INFO : USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE  
Amembassy LA GOS IMMEDIATE

STATE

LIMDIS

Subj: ICRC Airlift

1. Urgent Amb or ranking Emboff convey info para 2 to ICRC in confidence ASAP.
2. Info available to USG indicates high probability resumed flights ICRC subject to in-flight interception and on-strip interdiction. Info also indicates increased NAF capability carry out interception and interdiction.
3. ICRC Cotonou may be informed that substance of foregoing info also transmitted ICRC and JCA Geneva.
4. Embassy should also take steps to insure that Amcits flight crews are informed info para 2.
5. U/CF expects report ASAP operations.

94852

ROGERS

(5)

Drafted by: U/CF:CCFerguson, Jr.:sm

Tel. Ext. 6215

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

U/CF - C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Clearances:

AF/W - Mr. Melbourne  
AF - Amb. Moore  
S/S - Mr. Brown

SECRET  
Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0758

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD 954503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05



75



Department of State

TELEGRAM

LAB 3-3 ICO  
XU POL 7 ETH

CONFIDENTIAL 695

PAGE 01 GENEVA 01898 112017Z XU POL 27 BIAFRA-

NIGERIA

85  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, NEA 13, EUR 17, UCF 5, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

AID 28, SIL 01, LAB 06, ACDA 16, NIC 01, RSR 01, 185 W  
066684R 111954Z JUN 69  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1634

CONFIDENTIAL GENEVA 1898

PASS WHITE HOUSE

PASS LABOR

AT MORSE LUNCHEON TODAY WEAVER SAT NEXT HAILE SELASSIE. AFTER EXCHANGE OF PLEASANTRIES, HAILE SELASSIE SPOKE OF COMING VIST TO CAIRO AND WASHINGTON IN JULY. HE INDICATED PRIMARY CONCERN WITH SITUATIONS MIDDLE EAST AND BIAFRA EITHER ONE OF WHICH HE FEARED COULD FLAME INTO WORLDWIDE CRISIS. MANIFESTED GREAT INTEREST DURING VISIT CONCERNING DETAILED COURSE OF BIG FOUR NEGOTIATIONS ON MIDDLE EAST AS WELL AS IN WASHINGTON CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN US AND USSR. HE GAVE IMPRESSION OF BEING PESSIMISTIC ON SITUATION IN BIAFRA AND DECRIED INVOLVEMENT OF BIG POWERS. HE FELT SYRIA MAIN PROBLEM MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AND EXPRESSED GREAT CONFIDENCE IN NASSER. HE IS LEAVING GENEVA ON FRIDAY TO VISIT CAIRO. TUBBY

CONFIDENTIAL

49

0759

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Authority VIND 959503  
By MNARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*6-11-69*  
*5290*

SECRET 029

PAGE 01 LAGOS 05290 111337Z

43  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, RSR 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, 146 W  
064087

O 111248Z JUN 69 ZFF-6  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7124  
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USINT SANTA ISABEL  
DIA FOR DIACO  
CINCSRIKE FOR STR-52

S E C R E T LAGOS 5290

SUBJECT: FMG NIGHT INTERCEPTION CAPABILITIES

REF: A) STATE 094010; B) GENEVA'S 1866; C) GENEVA'S 1852  
D) GENEVA'S 1839

JOINT EMBASSY/DAO MESSAGE

1. AS REPORTED DAO LAGOS 0222 MAY 1969, FMG CONTINES HAVE CAPABILITY FOR NIGHT INTERCEPTION. UK DEFENSE ADVISOR OF SAME VIEW. NAF HAS MERCENARY PILOTS WHO CAPABLE AND BEEN GIVEN FINANCIAL INCENTIVE. WHILE PILOTS HAVE EXPRESSED FEAR MID-AIR COLLISION OVER ULI IN NIGHT OPERATIONS, THEY CLEARLY UNDER GUN TO PRODUCE RESULTS. INFO JUST RECEIVED INDICATES TWO C-47 AIRCRAFT PILOTED BY MERCENARIES AND OUTFITTED WITH MACHINE GUNS WILL FLY OVER ULI NIGHT JUNE 11. WITH DEPARTURE THOMSETT TO JOIN KLOOVIG AT PORT HARCOURT 10 JUNE, LIKELIHOOD AT LEAST TWO MIG-17S ALSO BE OVER ULI.

2. BELIEVE MERCENARIES WILL AGAIN ATTEMPT FORCE

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 05290 111337Z

NIGHT FLIGHTS LAND BEFORE SHOOTING DOWN AND STRONGLY  
URGE RELIEF AGENCIES INSTRUCT PILOTS RESPOND TO NAF  
SIGNALS AS INDICATED USD AO LAGOS 0256.

3. DATT OF VIEW THAT GOWON HAS NOT APPROVED ORDER  
DESTROY ADDITIONAL RELIEF FLIGHTS BUT AWAITING FULL  
REPORT INVESTIGATION 5 JUNE INCIDENT BEFORE TAKING  
DECISION. GIVEN MOOD IN NAF AND LACK ADEQUATE  
CONTROL WITHIN MILITARY, POSSIBLE NIGHT  
FLIGHTS MAY BE ATTACKED WHATEVER DECISION MAY  
EMANATE FORM GOWON.

4. CONTINUE TO URGE ICRC AND JCA NOT ATTEMPT  
NIGHT FLIGHTS PENDING CLARIFICATION FMG.  
GP-3 MATHEWS

SECRET  
31

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Authority	VND 954/503
By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05

66



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State

TELEGRAM

5-29-69  
4833

UNCLASSIFIED 607

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04833 291936Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07,  
LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,  
SRI 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, E 15, TRSY 11, CAB 09, INT 06, 187 W  
116428

R 291610Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6867  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
USIA WASHDC  
BT  
UNCLAS LAGOS 4833

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP MAY 29

1. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT POST AND PILOT FEATURE NEWS OF OVERNIGHT  
MAY 28 ARREST OF ICRC COORDINATOR DR. LINDT AT AIRPORT.  
LINDT AND THREE OTHERS ON PLANE ARRESTED BY AIRPORT COMMANDANT  
CAPT. DICKSON ON ARRIVAL FROM COTONOU, SEEMINGLY FOR  
CONTRAVENING RECENTLY IMPOSED BAN ON ALL FLIGHTS EXCEPT  
REGULARLY SCHEDULED ONES. PILOT OF PLANE STATED THEY GIVEN  
PERMISSION TO LAND BY CONTROL TOWER. TRIBUNE ONLY REPORTS  
THAT NIGERIAN AIR FORCE EARLIER HAD GTE INTERCEPTED MESSAGE  
WHICH RED CROSS SENT TO REBELS INFORMING THEM OF MILITARY  
SITUATION IN LAGOS UNOTE.

2. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT PILOT REPORT SWEDISH GOVERNMENT

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0762

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04833 291936Z

CONDEMNATION OF ROSENS ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH REBEL BOMBINGS OF NIGERIAN AIRPORTS. NOTE ON SUBJECT DELIVERED TO FMG BY SWEDISH AMB LAGOS STATING THAT PLANES WERE OF TRAINER TYPE AND NOT MILITARY TRAINERS AND THEREFORE NO EXPORT LICENSE HAD BEEN REQUIRED. ACCORDING TO NEWS SOURCES PLANES PURCHASED IN NAME OF ITALIAN COMPANY AND THEN FLOWN TO FRANCE FOR CONVERSION TO MILITARY USAGE BEFORE STATIONING IN GABON.

3. TIMES AND OBSERVER REPORT ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS AT BENIN AIRPORT FIRED ON PLANE MAY 28 WHICH TURNED OUT TO BE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE JET. MISTAKE BLAMED ON ELECTRICAL FAULT AT LAGOS AIRPORT WHICH CAUSED LOSS OF CONTACT WITH BENIN AIRPORT SO THAT AIRPORT DID NOT KNOW PLANE WAS COMING.

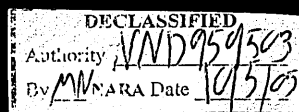
4. ALL LAGOS PAPERS PLUS TRIBUNE CARRY PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT BY GENERAL SECRETARY OF NIGERIAN BAR ASSOCIATION EXPRESSING ASSOCIATIONS CONCERN THAT QTE CERTAIN EDICTS UNQTE OF FMG ASSOCIATIONS CONCERN THAT QTE CERTAIN EDICTS UNQTE OF FMG QTE UNNECESSARILY CURTAIL INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS UNQTE OF THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA. FMG AND SOME STATE GOVERNMENTS QTE ESPECIALLY IN THE NORTH UNQTE ACCUSED OF REMOVING FROM JURISDICTION OF COURT SYSTEM CERTAIN CASES OF PERSONS DETAINED BY POLICE. COMPLAINT ALSO LODGED AGAINST TAX LAW WHICH ALLOWS DEFAULTERS PROPERTY TO BE SOLD WITHOUT APPEAL TO COURTS AGAINST RULING.

5. POST REPORTS STATEMENT IN ROME BY NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR WHICH DESCRIBED REMARKS OF FATHER BAYER, SECRETARY OF CARITAS, AS QTE ABSOLUTELY IRRESPONSIBLE AND ARRANT NONSENSE UNQTE. BAYER REPORTED TO HAVE SAID ON RETURN TO ROME FROM REBEL TERRITORY THAT HE QTE DID NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY UNQTE THAT ITALIAN OIL MEN WERE KILLED BY NIGERIAN TROOPS RATHER THAN REBELS WHO CAPTURED THEM.

6. TIMES EDITORIAL CALLS FOR INTENSIFICATION OF VIGILANCE BY ARMED FORCES AND CIVILIAN POPULATION AND FOR ARMY TO GO QTE ALL OUT TO SMASH REBELS WHATEVER THE COST... DELAYED HOSTILITIES ON FEDERAL SIDE COULD ONLY IMPEL REBELS TO DARE NEARER TARGETS THAN WE EXPECT. REPEAT OF PREVIOUS EPISODE WOULD BE MORE THAN DISASTROUS UNQTE.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 04833 291936Z

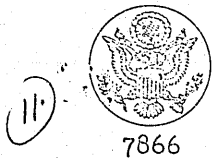
UM NEW NIGERIAN EDITORIAL COMMENTING ON VON ROSEN-LEH  
ATTACKS ON NIGERIAN AIRPORTS, WARNS AGAINST RELAXING  
OF PREPAREDNESS. POINTS OUT THAT SWEDES CAME INTO NIGERIA  
THROUGH QTE DISCREDITED EUROPEAN HUMANITARIANS UNQTE.  
STATES QTE IT MAY NOT BE FAIR TO ALL PROFESSIONAL FOREIGN  
HUMANITARIANS TO SAY THAT IT IS THEIR CONSUMING HATRED  
FOR THIS COUNTRY RATHER THAN CONCERN FOR SUFFERING THAT  
IS POWER BEHIND THEIR DECISION TO FORCE THEMSELVES ON US.  
BUT WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN WHO IS GENUINE. WE KNOW THAT NOT  
ALL OF THEM ARE. FROM SECURITY POINT ALL OF THEM MUST BE  
SUSPECT UNQTE. SAYS THAT CONCLUSION IS THAT FUNDS FOR PURCHASE  
OF AIRCRAFT MUST HAVE COME FROM QTE HUMANITARIAN SOURCES UNQTE  
AND POINTS TO PLANES REFITTING AT FRENCH BASES. SAYS IT  
IS QTE NAIVE AND FACILE TO THINK THERE IS ROOM FOR UNCONTROLLED  
FOREIGN HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES...IT IS EQUALLY UNQISE AND  
DANGEROUS TO CONSIDER ACTIVITIES OF COUNT IN ISOLATION. TRUE  
PICTURE MUST TAKE IN ACTIVITIES OF ICRC AND CARITAS AND  
ALL OTHER SUPPLIERS OF SEEMINGLY LIMITEDLESS FUNDS UNQTE.  
OLSON

NNN

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0764

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05



WH/Memo and approval NPN R Book to W. A. Evans  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
5/31/69

May 28, 1969

RS/R FILES

COPIES TO:  
S/S:RF  
U/CF  
AFW

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HENRY A. KISSINGER  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Attention JRS DUKETT  
Keep this study together.  
AB

Subject: Letter to the President from  
Bishop Swanstrom

In response to Mr. Moose's request of May 19  
the Department recommends that no reply be made  
to Bishop Swanstrom's letter of May 11, 1969.

The Bishop's letter only repeats a request  
made in an earlier cable. A full reply to the  
cable was made by Ambassador Ferguson on behalf  
of the President on May 16, 1969.

5-C-121  
This document released to  
public per Bishop AF  
9/11/75

John P. Walsh  
Acting Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

1. Letter to the President from  
Bishop Swanstrom
2. Reply to Bishop Swanstrom  
from Ambassador Ferguson

U/CF:SCSchoff 5/26/69

Clearance:  
AFW - Mr. Melbourne

Redrafted in S/S-S:MMornblow:jlr

MICROFILMED  
BY S/S: CMS

0765

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 950503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

7866

REFERRAL

To: State Secretariat

Date: May 19, 1969

(11)

11

ACTION REQUESTED

- ☐ Draft reply for:
  - ☐ President's signature.
  - ☐ Undersigned's signature.
- ☐ Memorandum for use as enclosure to reply.
- ☐ Direct reply.
- ☐ Furnish information copy.
- ☐ Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling.
- ☐ Furnish copy of reply, if any.
- ☐ For your information.
- ☐ For comment.

NOTE

Prompt action is essential.

If more than 48 hours' delay is encountered, please telephone the undersigned immediately, Code 1450.

Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.

REMARKS:

For recommendation.

Description:

☒ Letter: ☐ Telegram: Other: ☐  
 To: The President  
 From: Edward E. Swanstrom, Pres., Joint Church Aid, USA (Catholic Relief Service)  
 Date: May 11, 1969 — POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
 Subject: Ltr re earlier request for help in purchase of 2 more C-97 cargo planes fm US to further assist in airlift of relief supplies into Biafra

By direction of the President:

*Richard Moose*

Richard Moose

(2)

(Copy to remain with correspondence)

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

0766

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 Authority: VND 959503  
 By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



14  
1027  
7866

CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES  
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE  
VIA DELLA CONCILIAZIONE, 4/D  
00193 ROME, ITALY

RT. REV. MSGR. JOSEPH J. HARNETT  
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

Telephone  
6569851  
Cable Address  
CATHWEL

May 11, 1969

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nixon:

Just about a week ago I cabled you here from Rome asking your help in the purchase by Joint Church Aid-USA of two more C97 cargo planes from the United States Government to further assist us in our airlift of critically needed relief supplies into Biafra.

Early this week, as you undoubtedly know, one of the International Red Cross planes, in conjunction with whom we carry on this cooperative effort, was lost in a crash. What you may not know is that two nights ago one of our C97s made a belly landing and was completely destroyed by FMG strafing on the Uli airstrip. We have had to dismantle one of the four planes we originally purchase from the government for spare parts with the result that only two planes are now in use.

In response to a cable I sent to him, Mr. C. Clyde Ferguson replied that the State Department had the matter under consideration. I cannot find words to stress how critically needed the two additional planes are if we are to maintain our mercy airlift on a scale that will permit us to continue to save at least some lives in Biafra.

A number of agencies who cooperate with us in this mercy airlift have been meeting here in Rome under the aegis of the International Caritas and they have asked me to renew this plea to you.

With every kindest personal wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Edward E. Swanstrom*  
Edward E. Swanstrom,  
President,  
Joint Church Aid-USA

Pol 27-7 BIRNKA-NIGERIA

0767

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VMD959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

DRAFT

Dear Bishop Swanstrom:

The President has asked that I reply to your telegram to him requesting his assistance in obtaining two additional C-97's for the JCA relief airlift from Sao Tome.

As I stated in my letter to you of May 2, any increase in U.S. Government supplied aircraft must be considered in the light of its affect on present efforts to obtain other relief routes. At the same time, however, we shall make every effort to assure that the original complement of four C-97's is maintained and that our financial support of the airlift is maximized.

In order to assure the continued effectiveness of the JCA-USA airlift, the Department of State has approved the sale of a replacement aircraft for the C-97 which crashed on Uli airstrip on the night of May 7. We expect a rapid consumation of the sale and early delivery of this aircraft to JCA-USA.

You have my personal assurance that your request for the additional C-97's will be kept under active consideration by my office. An augmentation of your present complement of four

Most Rev. Edward Swanstrom  
Executive Director  
Catholic Relief Services  
350 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10001

POC 27-9 BIAKIN-NIGERIA

0768

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Authority VND 950503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

Page 2

aircraft will be weighed against the progress being made on the opening of a surface corridor. I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this problem with you personally and hope that we may find a time to meet in the near future.

Sincerely,

C. Clyde Ferguson  
Special Coordinator for  
Nigerian Relief

0769

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MW NARA Date 10/3/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
ACTION SLIP  
WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL

CONTROL NO.

7866

TO U/CF - Mr. Thomas

DATE 5/20/69

SUBJECT Ref to S/S fm WH:Moose re Ltr to RMN fm Edward E. Swanstrom dtd 5/11 re earlier request for help in purchase of 2 more C-97 cargo planes from US to further assist in airlift of relief supplies into Biafra.

XX Prepare a ~~Read~~ to Kissinger  
memo enclosing or containing:  
\_\_\_\_ Draft reply for President's  
signature.  
\_\_\_\_ Draft reply for signature by  
\_\_\_\_.  
\_\_\_\_ Memo for use as enclosure to reply  
by White House.  
XXX ~~Comment~~ Recommendation. re  
\_\_\_\_ Direct reply: reply.  
\_\_\_\_ Furnish information copy under  
cover of a Read to \_\_\_\_  
memo.  
\_\_\_\_ Comeback copy required for S/S.  
\_\_\_\_ Suitable acknowledgment or other  
appropriate handling:  
\_\_\_\_ Furnish information copy of  
reply, if any, under cover of  
a Read to \_\_\_\_ memo.  
XX Refer to White House request of  
Mr. Moose, 5/19/69.  
\_\_\_\_ FYI  
XX Due in S/S by 5/22/69.

NOTES

1. White House referrals must be answered within 48 hours unless otherwise noted. If deadline cannot be met, inform S/S immediately at extension given below.
2. Direct replies to White House mail must be signed at the Assistant or Acting Assistant Secretary level.
3. Unless otherwise noted, direct replies, depending upon the addressee of the incoming letter, must begin: "The President has asked me to reply" or "Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has asked me to reply".
4. Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum or comment or comeback copy for the White House is requested.

REMARKS

W/K Memo should refer to W/K memo of May 15 (S/S 7215) concerning telegrams from Bishop Swanstrom.

COPIES TO:

U - Mr. Stemple (w/att)  
AF - Mr. Alexander (w/att)  
AID - Mr. Hummon (w/att) 03

George Kelly

Secretariat Staff  
Ext. 4735

0770

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 95/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POC 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 01649 271702Z

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ACTION: UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01,

AID 28, ACDA 16, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 168 W

098993

R 271630Z MAY 69

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1421

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

UNCLAS GENEVA 1649

FOR U/CF

SUBJ: NIGERIA

SWISS PRESS COVERED "BIAFRA AIR ATTACKS" IN VARIOUS WEEKEND NEWS ITEMS. FOLLOWING ROUGHT TRANSLATION FROM "DIE TAT": "STOCKHOLM/LAGOS, MAY 26. BIAFRAN MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AS WELL AS FMG CONFIRMED THAT BIAFRAN PLANES ATTACKED PORT HARCOURT ON THURSDAY. ACCORDING TO BIAFRAN CLAIMS, TWO FMG MIGS AND ONE IL 28 BOMBER WERE DESTROYED. SEVERAL ANTI-AIRCRAFT POSITIONS NEUTRALIZED. PORT HARCOURT CONTROL TOWER DAMAGED AND REFINERY SET AFLAME. ACCORDING TO STOCKHOLM NEWSPAPER "EXPRESSEN", BIAFRAN AIR ATTACK ON PORT HARCOURT WAS FLOWN BY SWEDISH PILOTS IN SWEDISH PLANES. THROUGHT MEANS OF A FICTIVE COOPERATION IN FRANCE. BIAFRA WAS SAID TO HAVE ACQUIRED FIVE LIGHT RECONNAISSANCE TRAINING PLANES, TYPE MFI, MANUFACTURED BY MALMO FLYGINDUSTRI. THESE PLANES WERE SUPPOSEDLY EQUIPPED WITH ROCKETS IN FRANCE. SWEDISH VETERAN PILOT, COUNT KARL GUSTAV VON ROSEN, FORMER CHIEF OF THE ETHIOPIAN AIR FORCE AND PILOT OF FIRST RELIEF FLIGHT TO BIAFRA SUPPOSEDLY RECRUITED YOUNG SWEDISH PILOTS FOR BIAFRA'S NEW AIR FORCE."

MACE

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GENEVA-1649  
5-27-69

0771

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 852

PAGE 01 GENEVA 01638 261014Z

18:  
ACTION SS: 70

INFO: OCT 01, CIAE: 00, DODE: 00, NSAE: 00, NSCE: 00, SSO: 00, USIE: 00, CCO: 00,

/071 W

089849

O: 260945Z MAY 69 ZFF6  
FM: USMISSION: GENEVA  
TO: SECSTATE: WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1414  
INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

SECRET GENEVA 1638

LIMDIS:

REFERENCE: STATE 83896

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE FMG REACTION TO BIAFRAN AIR ATTACKS

1. MISOFF CALLED ON GERBER, ICRC, 25TH AND INFORMED HIM OF USG CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE FMG RETALIATION FOR BIAFRA AIR ATTACKS ON AIRPORTS. GERBER SAID HE EXPECTED SHORTLY HAVE TELECON WITH NAVILLE WHO OUT OF TOWN FOR WEEK-END AND WOULD INFORM HIM.
2. GERBER OFFERED HIS OWN OPINION THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR ICRC TO TAKE THIS UP WITH BIAFRANS WHO WOULD SIMPLY INVITE ICRC NOT TO MEDDLE IN MILITARY MATTERS. ACCORDING GERBER THIS PARTICULARLY PERTINENT SINCE BIAFRANS COULD BE REACTING TO FMG BOMBING OF CIVILIANS.
3. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY GERBER SAID ICRC HAD NO REPEAT NO INFORMATION THAT FMG BOMBING ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS HAD BEEN LAUNCHED FROM PORT HARCOURT OR BENIN AIRPORTS. THEY HAD, HOWEVER, SEEN IN PARIS MATCH PHOTOS TAKEN AT CALABAR AIRPORT SHOWING ILYUSHINS AND MIGS WITH EGYPTIAN PILOTS.
4. MISOFF POINTED OUT ACTION SUGGESTED BY USG NOT A PROTEST BUT SIMPLY EFFORT TO AVOID ENDANGERING RELIEF AIRLIFT WHICH COULD BE CONSIDERED IN BIAFRA'S OWN INTEREST.

SECRET  
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GENEVA - 1638  
5-26-69

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Authority VND 954/503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 01638 261014Z

5. GERBER INFORMS US TODAY NAVILLE IS NOT PLANNING TAKE MATTER UP WITH BIAFRANS SINCE THE AIRFIELDS ARE CONSIDERED MILITARY TARGETS, AND, AS YET, HAS TAKEN NO ACTION TO QUOTE EXERCISE UTMOST PRUDENCE WITH RESPECT TO RELIEF FLIGHTS UNQUOTE AS SUGGESTED PARA 4C REFTTEL. HOWEVER, NAVILLE PLANS GIVE US FORMAL REPLY BY LETTER 27TH OR 28TH. TUBBY

SECRET

0773

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

POST General

SERIAL 1638

Screened MAW

(Time Received)

1969 MAY 26 AM 7 25

<u>Secretariat</u>	<u>Geographic</u>	<u>Other</u>
S/S-S <u>15</u>	AF 5 <u>X 5</u>	ACDA 5
S/S-O <u>15</u>	ARA 9	
S/S-Screener <u>3</u>	EA 11	AID/EXSEC 3
S/S-EX	EUR 10 <u>- 10</u>	AA/AFR 2
S/S-CMS	NEA 8	AA/VN 2
S/S-O DIR		AA/EA 3
MilRep	<u>Functional</u>	AA/NESA 2
Digest	CU	TRSY 6
Task Force	E 2	FRB
	H	EXIM
<u>Principals and</u>	INR <u>6 - 6</u>	BOB
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ES <u>-</u>	L 2	COM 2
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USC	P <u>- 1</u>	LAB
	SCA	HEW
S/CPR	VO	INT
S/FW	SCS	TRANS
S/GOV	SCI	CAB
S/IL		AEC 3
S/P	<u>Other</u>	NASA
S/PM	WH <u>10 - 10</u>	JUS
S/R <u>- 1</u>	VP	FBI
U/CF <u>- 1</u>	DOD <u>- 6</u>	NLC
U/PW	CIA <u>- 5</u>	NSA
J/PM <u>- 1</u>	USIA <u>- 1</u>	File
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2/10/69

0774

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MAW Date 10/5/05



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INDICATE:  
☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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37 A

24 MAR 69 10 42z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

USMission GENEVA IMMEDIATE

INFO: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY

STATE

REF: A. State 83652; B. State 82665

SUBJECT: Possible FMG Reaction to Biafran Air Attacks

1. News report May 24 of Biafran attack on Benin airport has heightened USG concern expressed ref A that FMG may feel compelled to retaliate in ways that may endanger ICRC and JCA relief flights into Biafra. Department has noted earlier report ~~xxxx~~ from Embassy Lagos that Gowon had vigorously vetoed any suggestion of "sabotaging" relief flights, but is concerned rebel attacks on Port Harcourt and Benin will inevitably intensify pressures on him to retaliate.

2. For Ambassador Ferguson in Lagos: In light above, you should seek urgent appointment with Gowon and

DRAFTED BY: AF/W:RSmith:pk

DRAFTING DATE 5/23/69

TEL. EXT. 2619

APPROVED BY: U - Mr. Richardson

CLEARANCES:

AF - Mr. Palmer

S/S - Mr. ~~XXXXXX~~ Walsh

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322  
4-68

0775

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 Authority VMD 950503  
 By MVA Date 10/3/05



INDICATE:  
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Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION:

page 2 of telegram to Lagos, Geneva

attempt to obtain clarification FMG intentions, urging him if necessary not to interdict relief flights.

3. For Geneva. You should inform ICRC of our concern, taking essentially same line we are taking with JCA here (see below), and urge ICRC to attempt convince Biafrans that their air attacks may place relief flights in jeopardy.

4. Department is taking following line with JCA:

A. We have seen recent news reports of Biafran air attacks on Port Harcourt and Benin airports. We ~~cannot~~ <sup>cannot</sup> be sure ~~way of judging~~ how FMG may react, but it logical to assume they may feel compelled to retaliate against air strips.

B. Ambassador Ferguson has been instructed urgently to seek clarification of the situation in Lagos

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DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

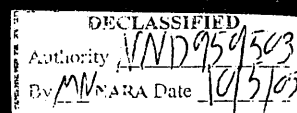
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FORM DS-322  
4-68

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INDICATE:  
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Classification

Department of State

TELEGRAM

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION:

Page 3 of telegram to Lagos, Geneva

and to try to assure that relief flights not endangered.

We suggest in meantime that JCA should utilize its contacts with Biafrans and explain extent to which Biafran air attacks may invite retaliation which would place relief flights in jeopardy.

C. Until situation is clarified, we suggest JCA exercise utmost prudence with respect to relief flights. Among other hazards, FMG anti-aircraft gunners in Port Harcourt and Benin undoubtedly nervous in aftermath attacks and may be prone to fire upon any aircraft.

D. Same advice being given ICRC Geneva.

RICHARDSON

END

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DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

APPROVED BY:

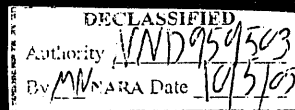
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Classification

Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

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INDICATE:  
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DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
Amembassy LONDON

STATE

Ref: State 83896 ✓

Reftel has been raised to LIMDIS.

END

RICHARDSON

DRAFTED BY:	<i>WR</i>	DRAFTING DATE	5-24-69	TEL. EXT.	4141	APPROVED BY:	<i>WMC</i>
S/S-0 Mr. Ryerson:ek						S/S-0 Mr. Quinn	
CLEARANCES:							

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Classification

FORM DS-322  
4-68

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Authority VMD 954503  
By *MW* NARA Date 10/3/05

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

083652

8A

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24 MAY 69 00 36Z

Origin  
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

INFO : Amconsul IBADAN  
" KADUNA

LIMDIS

JOINT STATE/DEFENSE MESSAGE

Ref: (a) Lagos USDAO 0222; (b) Lagos USDAO 0225; (c) Lagos 4603

Subj: Possible FMG Interdiction of Relief Flights

1. Department is of course concerned at near hysterical FMG reaction to rebel air attack on Port Harcourt reported by Thomsett. Given dubious nature of source, however, believe additional information and confirmation necessary before taking action recommended para. 3, ref b.

2. Most recent sitrep by UK Def Advisor, shown Deptoff by British Emboff May 23, contains low-key report of rebel attack on Port Harcourt by two light piston-engine aircraft with home made rockets which did QTE little damage UNQTE. He also <sup>reported</sup> ~~reports~~ 3rd Division has restored situation north of Elele and retaken Umuakpu, 10 miles north of Elele. No mention of FMG reaction reported by Thomsett. Since Thomsett UK cit, NAF employee for two years, and undoubtedly well known to UK Def ~~Advisor~~ Advisor, would appreciate latter's or HICOMER's assessment of probable authenticity of Thomsett's story.

RICHARDSO

Drafted by:  
AF/W:RPSmith:ba 5/23/69

Tel. Ext.  
6402

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by: AF/W - Roy M. Melbourne

Clearances:

OSD/ISA-Col. Kennedy

~~Joint Staff~~ - Col. Bradburn  
SECRET

DIA - Lt. Col. Wraceburn

FORM  
8-65 DS-322

Classification

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Authority VND 954503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 29 NIGERIA  
XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 621

PAGE 01 101814Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12, SRI 01,

FORM 03, UCF 05, LI 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 061 W  
058431

R 101412Z JUN 69  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1179  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KADUNA 0557

REF: STATE 93223: POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

RE: APPLE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE OF JUNE 8 ON WELFARE OF MOLE  
SOYINKA, KADUNA JOURNALIST TOLD USIS OFFICER THAT SOYINKA NOT  
ILL, HAS BOOKS, AND IS WRITING. JOURNALIST'S UNCLE IS PRISON  
NURSE AND SEES SOYINKA SEVERAL TIMES WEEKLY. STOKES

POL 24 NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL  
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6-10-69  
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Authority VMD 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA 93223  
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

93223  
NIGERIA  
9 JUN 69 20 50  
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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info INFO: Amembassy COTONOU  
LOME  
LONDON  
PARIS  
ROME  
STOCKHOLM  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN NY  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria - Press Summary June 8-9

1. Wash Star June 7 reports arrival 18 oilmen Libreville en route home. Bodies 10 killed by Biafrans arrived Milan.
2. Wash Post June 8 says Nigerian Govt announced day before two of four crewmen on plane shot down were killed. Then military high command ordered report withheld. Report issued by MinInfo said "the statement yesterday that they were captured alive was incorrect." In Rome 18 oilmen arrived, went straight to see Pope Paul who had made one of principal appeals for their liberation. Post also carries Reuters report Malmo, Sweden that von Rosen in trouble at home. His group's surprise strikes from Biafran bush officially condemned in Stockholm, although generally applauded by man in street, and govt investigating whether charges can be brought against him. Malmo civil aviation company employing him said he suspended from job as charter pilot pending investigation his Biafran activities. Antony Terry of London Sunday Times reported from Malmo Swedish

Drafted by: AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 6/9/69

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Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

AF/W:RMMelbourne

Clearances:

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Origin

ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

FonMin officials summoned for sharp questioning Rudolph Abelen, head of ~~XXXX~~ Malmo Flyg Industri, who clinched deal for planes with unnamed African in Zurich bank, selling him five stripped down MF19-13 aircraft and spare parts for \$68,000. He denies knowing planes were to be used for military purposes, but one clause in contract laid down they to be delivered to shipping agents Paris where they were fitted with French-designed air-to-ground missiles before being dismantled and shipped in French-owned Super Constellations to Biafra via ~~G~~ Gabon. There they reassembled. Pictures in Swedish press showed von Rosen and his crew of Swedish pilots painting out Swedish registrations on aircraft and replacing them with camouflage paint before taking off on raids on Nigerian ~~airfields~~ airfields. Von Rosen's air transport pilots "D" license expires in August when he reaches 60. Last week from Biafran bush he sent apology his Malmo friends who supplied aircraft for causing them so much trouble and "telling lies that the aircraft were to be used for humanitarian purpose." In fact Count has become national hero in Sweden although authorities still extremely angry at international complications.

3. Wash Post June 9 carries UPI report headed Red Cross says all four died on relief plane, citing ICRC Geneva. Statement published there said ICRC protesting against "an unexpected and inexplicable action." Statement continues:

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Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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By MVA Date 10/3/05



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Origin  
Info:

ACTION: Page 3 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

"ICRC desires that parties in conflict reaffirm their agreement to do nothing to hinder continuation of a service which has made it possible for millions of women and children to escape death." Flights from Cotonou suspended since Friday with some ICRC pilots demanding safety guarantees, officials said. Meanwhile in Lagos independent Nigerian Sunday Times reported Nigeria had given ICRC until 8 A.M. Monday to stop using Lagos airport as a base to fly relief supplies to Biafra. Times said 72 hour order issued to ICRC on Friday. Paper quoted senior security officer at airport saying Red Cross no longer required and "moreover, since they no longer use the airport as their base, there's no need for them to remain. In fact we no longer want to see them. They are spying on our activities." AP said from Lagos FMG army sources reported Swedish-built minibombers raided Midwest Sunday killing one woman and injuring 21 persons in Niger River village of Ibusa. Military high command Lagos said it had no information on air strike.

4. Post also carries story Pope Paul denied Caritas supplied war materiel to either side, in remarks during Sunday noon blessing pilgrims. He issued denial only 12 hours after granting midnight audience to 18 oilmen. One of returning oilmen told how 13 of comrades died in hut near Kwale when Biafran

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Clearances:		

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Authority VND 959/503  
By MNA Date 10/3/05

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Origin

ACTION: Page 4 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info

troops attacked. He and two others of 16 in hut survived attack by playing dead, emerged with hands up, were forced into other ~~h~~ hut where another 15 detained. "We didn't know what was happening," said Walter Cattivelli. "We were put on trial and about four hours later they said we must die. Nobody understood the language, so we weren't sure." He said some of men were confident Ojukwu would spare them for concessions from other side, others were frightened on learning of death sentences. Vatican and Italian govt spokesmen have refused to say whether any concessions offered in return for men's release.

5. No editorial comment observed on ICRC plane incident.

6. NYTimes June 8 carries Apple piece on Soyinka reported ill in Nigerian jail at ~~KXXXXXXX~~ Kaduna where he has been held solitary confinement last 18 months. Letter and two poems written on toilet tissue and smuggled out of prison quoted in story.

END

RICHARDSON

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

Clearances:

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority VND959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/03

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*Classification*

## Origin

**ACTION:**

Amembassy MASERU

INFO:

" ADDIS ABABA  
" LONDON  
" LAGOS

USUN

STATE

SUBJECT: Lesotho Views on International Problems

REF: Maseru 235: A-74 - POL 27 610/174-  
NISPORA  
POL 27 NRAB-15P

In course normal business with Fonoff, Embassy should relay our gratification at identity of views on African and international issues expressed in Lesotho's Note No. 5. With Lesotho, we believe African and other countries should solve their own problems, and that all powers, big and small, have vested interest in peace. Therefore, US doing all it can to persuade parties to Mideast and other disputes to end or avoid war and to put their resources to work for development. We welcome support of Lesotho in these efforts, and we have a continuing interest in hearing Lesotho views on international problems.

END

**RICHARDSON**

Drafted by:

AF/S:MJacobs:bjr:oh

Tel. Exl

3072

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AF/S:WBCampbell

AFZS:WBCampDe  
AFZS:WBCampDe

**Clearances:**

AF; Amb. Moore

NEA:AAtherton <sup>0</sup> ~~AB~~

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Authority VND 9/50/303  
By MN NARA Date 0/5/0



TRV BROWN, EDDIE  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XR SOC 14 US

~~XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA~~  
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PAGE 01 KADUNA 00550 071139Z

19  
ACTION AF 18

INFO DCT 01, PPT 02, SCA 01, CIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, RSC 01, SY 03, FBI 01,

OOOE 00, P 04, USIA 12, RSR 01, UCF 05, SR 01, DRM 03, IO 13, /073 W  
039830

R 071040Z JUN 69  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1175  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCDNSUL IBADAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE KADUNA 0550

SUBJECT: FURTHER COMMENTS BY EDDIE BROWN

1. JUNE 7 NEW NIGERIAN CARRIED TWO ARTICLES WITH STATEMENTS BY AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER EDDIE BROWN. IN JUNE 5 LECTURE AT FEDERAL TRAINING CENTER, BROWN REVIEWED HISTORY OF BLACKS IN AMERICA AND CHARACTERIZED RIOTS AS "BLACK MAN'S REVOLUTION." HE SAID AMERICAN BLACKS "LOCATED IN EYES OF MONSTER" AMONG WHITES WHO REPUDIATE IDEA THAT "BLACK PEOPLE ARE EQUAL WORLD OVER WHETHER IN AFRICA OR AMERICA." UNLESS BLACKS ARE FREED THEY WILL CONTINUE VIOLENCE "EVEN IF IT MEANS BURNING DOWN THE COUNTRY". HE CRITICIZED AMERICAN BLACKS WHO SUPPORT PEACEFUL MEANS, BUT SAID MORE COHESION DEVELOPING AMONG AMERICAN NEGRODS.

2. DURING INTERVIEW WITH NORTH CENTRAL STATE MILITARY GOVERNOR COLONEL ABBA KYARI, BROWN STATED THAT NIGERIA JUSTIFIED IN TAKING ANY "ACTION SHE DEEMED FIT IN DEFENSE OF HER UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY" AND CALLED ON ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT NIGERIA "IN INTEREST OF AFRICA AND NEGRO RACE." HE PROMISED TO ENLIGHTEN AMERICAN PUBLIC, "ESPECIALLY THE NEGROES", ON NIGERIAN CRISIS.

COMMENT: NEW NIGERIAN EDITOR, ADAMER CIROMA CLAIMS EDDIE BROWN IS BROTHER OF RAP BROWN. WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFO AVAILABLE TO DEPT AS TO IDENTITY AND ASSOCIATION OF EDDIE BROWN.  
DECONTRDL 6/7/70  
STOKES.

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Authority VND 950/503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XPOL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 778

PAGE 01 COTONO 00615 061851Z

43  
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, CCO 00, SSD 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 20, E 15, DOT 12, UPW 01, NEA 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03,  
AID 28, RSR 01, 180 W

O 061402Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2164  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USINT SANTA ISABEL

SECRET COTONOU 615

CORRECTED COPY FR TEXT

FOR FERGUSON FROM DAWSON

SUBJECT: RSM - DC-7

1. ALL AIRCRAFT COTONOU AND PRESUMABLY SANTA ISABELA GROUNDED  
FOR NIGHT OF 6/7 JUNE. MOST CREW MEMBERS COTONOU NON-COMMITTAL  
ABOUT RESUMING FLYING, BUT BEST GUESS IS AT LEAST TWO C-97S  
AND BOTH DC-6S WOULD FLY IF CLEARED BY ICRC.

2. ICRC SOURCES CONFIRM THAT MISSING DC-7 REPORTED IT UNDER  
ATTACK BY HOSTILE AIRCRAFT SHORTLY BEFORE ALL CONTACT WITH  
SANTA ISABELA LOST.

3. FOURTH ICRC C-97 RETURNED FROM MAINTENANCE BASE TEL AVIV  
0030 HOURS 6 JUNE WITH TWO ENGINES AND PROP OIL ABOARD.  
MAINTENANCE FAIRLY FULLY CARRIED OUT BUT SOME EVIDENCE

SECRET

0787

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM** *Repa 5101 6-6-69*

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 05101 061423Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

AID 28, RSR 01, /149 W

034145

R 061100Z JUN 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7012

AMEMBASSY PARIS

INFO AMEMBASSY GENEVA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

UNCLAS LAGOS 5101

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-"BIAFRA"

1. REBEL RADIO AFTERNOON 5 JUNE STATES THAT "IN PARIS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GENOCIDE FOUND NIGERIA GUILTY OF GENOCIDE AGAINST BIAFRA". CONFERENCE HEADED BY GHANAIAN LAWYER, EMMANUEL MENSAH, WHO SUPPOSEDLY CARRIED OUT "EXHAUSTIVE INVESTIGATION" IN BOTH NIGERIA AND REBEL AREAS. REQUEST ANY INFORMATION AVAILABLE ABOUT THIS GROUP. AND ITS REPORT.  
OLSON

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Authority VND 950/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 369

PAGE 01 COTONO 00608 051439Z

54

ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, EUR 17, IO 13, AIO 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, RSR 01, /152 W  
----- 025778

R 050955Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHOC 2159  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

S E C R E T COTONOU 608

FOR FERGUSON FROM OAWSON

REF: COTONOU 453

1. NIGHT OF 2 JUNE TRANSVIA DC-6 HIT ON RUNWAY ULI BY SHRAPNEL OF CANNON FIRE OR ROCKETS FROM HIGH PERFORMANCE JET AIRCRAFT. IN EITHER CASE THE LANDING AIRCRAFT WAS OBVIOUSLY TARGET.

2. STAYED ULI ONE FULL DAY WHILE REPAIRS MADE AND FLEW SAO TOME NIGHT OF 3 JUNE. DEWEY AND OAWSON EXAMINED DAMAGE 4 JUNE WHICH CONSISTED OF HOLED FUEL CELL, HYDRAULIC LINE BREAK AND TWO PUNCTURED TIRES ALONG WITH MANY HOLES IN UNDER SIDE OF WINGS AND FUSILAGE.

3. NEW PATTERN FOR JET AIRCRAFT OVER ULI BEST DESCRIBED AS "TROLLING". AIRCRAFT OVERFLY SLOWLY, MAKE A WIDE TURN AND OVERFLY AGAIN, HOPING TO CATCH AIRCRAFT IN APPROACH WITH LIGHTS ON. BIG CHANGE AT ULI IS MUCH STRICTER LIGHT CONTROL. DURING TROLLING NIGHT OF JUNE 4 OAWSON COULD NOT SEE ANY LIGHT AT ULI BUT HEARD PLANES BEING RETURNED TO HOLDING. JET AIRCRAFT APPARENTLY COMING IN WAVES WITH ABOUT ONE-HALF HOUR OR MORE BETWEEN WAVES.

SECRET

26

(2)

Cotonou 608  
6-5-69

0789

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 95/503  
By MNARA Date 10/3/05

ORIGIN/ACTION		
RM/R	REP	AF
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ARA	EUR	FE
NEA	CU	INR
E	P	IO
4	2	5
L	FBO	AID
9/R	OKM	5/P
1	2	1
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
7		
TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
24	10	3
NSC		
6		

(18)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

FSE 12 NIGERIA  
XR-POL 27 BIAFRA -  
NIGERIA

FOR RM USE ONLY

A-255 No. \_\_\_\_\_ UNCLASSIFIED

TO : Department of State

INFO : Ibadan, Kaduna

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

DATE: June 5, 1969

SUBJECT: Electricity: Damage to 72 MW Ughelli Power Station

REF : CERP-D, Lagos 4870

RECEIVED  
JUN 6 11 25 AM '69  
STATE DEPT. BRANCH

On the evening of May 29, the 72 MW Delta Power Station at Ughelli, Midwestern State, was attacked by secessionist "Biafran" light aircraft. As indicated in the referenced communication, the power plant was hit by seven rockets.

The Electricity Corporation of Nigeria (ECN) has not yet made a full investigation of the extent of the damage to the power plant. However, the Swedish Embassy received a report from the Lagos agents of Stahl-Laval, the Swedish contractor which is still engaged in maintaining the two 36 MW gas turbine units. According to this report, rockets exploded inside both of the two turbine air intakes, causing damage to the intakes but not to the turbines themselves. In addition, one of the power relay rooms received a hit. The Swedish engineers estimated that it would require two weeks to repair one of the turbine air intakes. The other intake was more severely damaged, and no repair estimate was possible at the time. That particular turbine was down at the time of the attack for maintenance work. Damage to the power station has been termed "moderate."

Shell-BP, which supplies natural gas to fuel the Ughelli power plant, shut off the station's gas when it was hit to prevent fire. According to ECN's Deputy General Manager, E. H. Yonren, the Midwest State is currently being supplied with power generated by Kainji Dam and fed through the 330 Kv line to Benin City. Onward power supply to Sapele and Warri, however, is limited by the inadequacy of the 33 Kv local power line which connected Benin and Warri before Ughelli was constructed. The Delta port town of Warri is therefore experiencing scheduled power cuts at the present time.

OLSON

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FORM 14-62 DS-323

Drafted by: ECON:RKKuchel:kmc 6-5-69

Contents and Classification Approved by: ECON:WG.Tones

Clearances:

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



ORIGIN/ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA		
AF-5*			<b>AIRGRAM</b>			FOR RM USE ONLY		
RM/R	REP	AF	UNCLASSIFIED			A-68		
1	5		NO.			HANDLING INDICATOR		
ARA	EUR	FE	TO : Department of State			<i>Clarke</i> <i>Smith</i>		
NEA	CU	INR	DEPT. PASS LAGOS, PARIS, ABIDJAN					
E	P	IO						
L	FBO	AID						
		INR/P						
		3*						
AGR	COM	FRB	FROM : Amembassy LIBREVILLE			DATE: June 4, 1969		
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT : French Brochure on "France and Biafra"			<i>RS/K</i> <i>File</i>		
TR	XMB	AIR	REF :					
ARMY	CIA	NAVY						
3	20	5						
OSD	USIA	NSA						
34		3						
		NSC						
		6						
PASS 3			<p>In the event it is not already available to the Department, enclosed are two copies of a brochure dated February 1969 entitled "La France et Le Biafra" and published by the French Foreign Ministry. The brochure, which was received by the French Embassy here just this past month, contains notes on the evolution of the Biafran conflict, quotations providing the rationale for French policy toward that conflict, and some information on French humanitarian aid to Biafra.</p> <p><i>act</i> Enclosures</p> <p>BANE <i>plan B</i></p>					
FORM 4-62 DS-323			UNCLASSIFIED			FOR DEPT. USE ONLY		
Drafted by: DCM:HFNelson/raa			Contents and Classification Approved by: AMB:IMBane			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> In <input type="checkbox"/> Out		
Clearances:								

0791

DECLASSIFIED  
 Authority: VND 954/503  
 By: MWA Date: 10/3/05

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**OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State**

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
088914  
39 A  
3 JUN 69 19 58  
FOR OC/T USE ONLY  
7/15/88

Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN  
LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
Amconsul IBADAN  
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - June 3

1. Wash Post, Balt Sun and NYTimes feature Rome AP story on Italian, German appeal for 18 oilworkers sentenced to death in Biafra. Italian Govt announced it taking new and immediate direct measures save 14 Italians, 3 Germans, one Lebanese, amid urging Italian press for military action in case. Italian Fonmin said measures it had taken included strong pleas through Italian embassies in Lisbon, Paris and Geneva with Biafran reps there. Foreign relations committee Italian Senate alerted for special session Wednesday to deal with case. Vatican ~~xxx~~ spokesman said Holy See would continue do all it could obtain release and Cardinal Dell'Acqua, vicar of Rome, called on Italians and all others to pray 18 might be spared. In Bonn, German Fonmin said Chancellor Kiesinger had asked Emperor to intervene as chairman OAU Concom. Fonmin Willy Brandt also cabled appeal Diallo Telli as OAU Syg. Bonn govt spokesman denied Ojukwu claim Europeans more concerned about fate oilmen than that of millions of suffering Biafrans. Spokesman told news conference: "Facts and figures belie this assertion. Fed Republic heads list of nations rendering humanitarian assistance," having

Drafted by:

AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 6/3/69

Tel. Ext.  
2105

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

AF/W:RMMelbourne

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By MWA Date 10/3/05

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Origin  
Info:

ACTION: page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

contributed \$23.5 million in civilian relief. In Benin 60-year-old mid-west Ibo watchman, Dominic Imieyea, told journalists he had been working with oilmen, saw 11 massacred by Biafrans who sprayed camp with automatic gunfire and looted camp.

2. Times carries Garrison piece datelined aboard Queen Elizabeth two saying fate oilmen poses major diplomatic test for Ojukwu. Garrison talked with several ranking Biafrans before leaving Biafra week ago, including Bishop Godfrey Okoye of Port Harcourt who permitted visit men on Vatican behalf, found them well fed and in good health. Garrison later visited Ministry Fonaffs, found young European sunning self in reclining chair, no guard in sight, showing no marks from ordeal and appearing almost bored.

3. Times has R.W. Apple article datelined Yaba headed war casualties overflow Nigerian hospitals. Medically speaking Nigerian war ages away from Vietnam, not unlike American civil war. For 90,000 men army has only three ambulances and three forward medical teams, almost no medics, no front-line field hospitals, inadequate dressings and drugs, no adequate evacuation system and woefully understaffed base hospitals. Men with brain injuries, torso wounds usually die where hit. Only those who can walk or crawl to rear get even rudimentary medical attention because there few stretchers. At Yaba one notices almost all patients

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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Origin ACTION: Page 3 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info: have arm or leg wounds - others don't get that far. No casualty figures for Fed army ever released but several independent sources agree at least 15,000 and probably as many as 20,000 FMG soldiers killed or maimed during war. With onset heavier fighting in Umuahia, Owerri campaigns, casualty rate has jumped, rear hospitals swamped. Friday morning 1,132 patients in Yaba hospital which ~~was built~~ built to hold 110-120. In afternoon 295 more wounded arrived from Port Harcourt and 10 doctors and 10 nurses who run hospital searched frantically for place to put them. Army doctor ~~xxx~~ said situation had become absolutely desperate. Those who strong enough travel given three months pay, told go home towns, return at future date for reconstructive surgery. Doctor asked name not be used as he feared govt reprisals, had been told not discuss his problems. Spokesman at MinDef said we coping very adequately. What problems there are are internal matters.

4. Apple continues: last year Norway offered provide 200 bed field hospital and staff of 70. FMG temporized until Sept when Norway finally withdrew offer. Despite official attitude, number outsiders recently prepared candid reports dealing military medical facilities here. ICRC report compared situation to after battle Solferino where wretched state wounded led Jean-Henri Durant to found Red Cross. In recent weeks FMG has asked ICRC supply forward med teams, and major recruiting effort under way in Europe. Informed sources indicate

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Origin

ACTION: Page 4 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

British and Americans have also been approached, though in less formal way. Matter reported to have been referred Washington for decision. Critical need is for orthopedic surgeons, anesthetists, general surgeons, nurses, operating theaters (there only one at Yaba), ambulances, field hospitals. American assistance, if any, will probably be limited to installations in rear areas.

END

[ROGERS]

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
088470

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2 JUN 69 22 27

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Origin

ACTION: AmEmbassy, LAGOS

Info:

RPTD INFO: AmEmbassy, LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
AmConsul, IBADAN  
KADUNA

STATE

Subject: Nigeria Press Summary: May 30 - June 2

1. Friday papers feature suicide Columbia University student at UN Thursday in protest against "genocide" in Biafra.
2. Saturday stories based on 2nd anniversary Biafra. Wash Post cites Reuters Lagos that Biafrans hemmed in but fighting, few real signs Biafran collapse. Biafran plane attack on Ughelli power station, 190 miles east of Lagos reported, with only one rocket hitting target. Generating capacity power station not affected. Times carries same Reuters piece and Lloyd Garrison Owerri article on rebuilding recaptured town, with David Robison photo. Garrison says south Owerri Biafrans have rolled back feds to within 20 miles Port Harcourt. Casualty figures high- this not mere bush conflict between ill armed and raggedly trained adversaries. Wash Star carries AP Lagos report finding six shallow graves and five bodies by Nigerian troops at Okpai, 22 miles from Kwale, citing Pedro Erebor of Nigerian Observer in Benin.

Drafted by:

AF/P:RLPerkins:djw 6/2/69

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ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to LAGOS

Info:

-3- Times June 1 reports group of Biafrans and supporters picketed at UN then paraded through midtown on Saturday in observance 2nd anniversary. Wash Post carries Rome story on finding mission 11 dead by Agip officials. Bruce Oudes has anniversary piece in Balt Sun stating Biafra independence rests on outside help. Biafra must either split FMG or achieve imposed solution from outside to win. There virtually no chance splitting rest of Nigeria. It conceivable though unlikely Biafran successes could result in top level changes in FMG, but any change would only be in more hawkish direction, if that is possible. Both sides following French election closely. One of Poher's first acts was to fire Jacques Foccart, who has been principal architect and administrator France's Biafra policy. Foccart is close adviser of Pompidou and has been playing important role in election campaign. Widespread assumption is French policy would be changed markedly/~~if~~ Poher wins. So FMG rooting for Poher, Biafra for Pompidou. Even if Poher wins still unlikely he would move precipitately cut off arms airlift without considering consequences for Biafra. Might prefer use clout with Ojukwu get him to conference table prepared accept something less than full sovereignty. New French govt might be eager for some kind of

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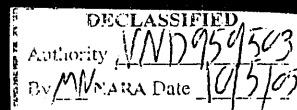
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Origin	ACTION: Page 3 of telegram to LAGOS
Info:	<p><u>low</u> level Big Four discussion as umbrella under which it might seek jettison clandestine Biafran arms aid policy.</p> <p>4. Wash Post and Star June 2 report 18 oilmen doomed by Biafra. Star has UPI Geneva report Lindt has asked Biafra for official word on rumors it has sentenced the 18 to death. Biafran information bureau Geneva yesterday <del>xxx</del> so announced. Lindt said ICRC insisting on permission visit men: 14 Italian, 3 Germans and a Lebanese. Sentences must be approved by Ojukwu and observers Geneva said there chance he might commute in view adverse publicity execution Westerners might bring. Post Reuters story quote Biafran Information commissioner Ifegwu Eke saying investigation showed 18 oilmen "aided the Nigerians in preparation for the battle in the general area of Kwale." Some were found in possession of firearms at time of their capture. They only surrendered in the heat of battle after they were surrounded by Biafran forces. "Eke said Biafran authorities <del>xxx</del> had evidence some of men erected beacons on routes in Kwale area leading to Biafran troop positions. "They fired guns, directed and also controlled Nigerian troops," he alleged.</p> <p>5. Times quotes Rome report Pope Paul expressed dismay over three <u>conflicts</u> that never end - Vietnam, Middle East and Nigeria. He spoke of</p>

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ACTION: Page 4 of telegram to LAGOS

Info:

~~the~~ "sad story of the Italian technicians in Africa in whose fate we, too, became interested."

6. Times has R.W. Apple Lagos piece headed Nigerian attitude to Peace Corps grows cool. Posted in bulletin board in office of editor one of Nigeria's leading newspapers is injunction: "Not a single man in Nigeria should have doubts as to the Peace Corps. It is a corps of spies and American imperialists." This not official viewpoint FMG, indeed probably not viewpoint many of ordinary Nigerians who have had dealings with PC. But attitude exists and it one of reasons fortunes PC here declining. Lagos intellectual said recently, "The more our civil war drags on, the more there is tendency blame our troubles on foreigners. Like everyone else we look for scapegoats because we don't like admit to ourselves we have done badly." PC officials Lagos have made point adopting what director Francis Macy calls "low profile", quietly going about business and making no trouble. Since war number of vols has been allowed dwindle from 1966 high of 750 to ~~now~~ only 90 left and no more coming. Seventy arrived January, will be program until end of 1970, nearly all in north. Macy will leave next month become deputy PC director for Africa. Successor will live in Kaduna, visit Lagos only once a month or so.

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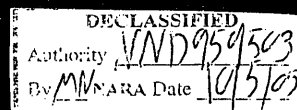
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8-65 DS-322

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ACTION: Page 5 of telegram to LAGOS

Info:

7. Times has Garrison piece from Obinze. Biafra on extent war becoming a major conflict, staggering casualties both sides. In last 30 days Biafrans have appeared hold initiative, crossed into Midwest state, captured 47 vehicles, two oil rigs, 18 European oil workers, retaken Owerri, and regained hills around Umuahia, cutting so heavily into FMG supply line that two battalions there depended on air drops. Revival Biafran air force under von Rosen increased morale and gave Biafran troops first real hope coping with Nigerian armor and ~~artillery~~ artillery, which spearhead every fed advance. According latest ICRC report on Biafra, more than 19,000 wounded Biafrans admitted hospitals and clinics in April. Picture as grim for Nigerian. 1,535 wounded evacuated to Lagos hospitals in 48-hour period last week. Total wounded Lagos hospitals more than 9,000. No statistics on military patients Ibadan, Benin, etc. After more than year training and organizing behind lines guerilla forays begun led by handpicked members of BOFF, Biafran Organization of Freedom Fighters. Examples BOFF exploits recounted.

[ROGERS]

END

ROGERS

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Pol 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
x2 Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 OSLO 02134 022206Z

85  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, ORM 03, SR 01, UCF 05, AID 28, UPW 01, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, E 15, IGA 02, AGR 20, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,  
/211 W

R 021600Z JUN 69  
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2556  
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION GENEVAI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OSLO 2134

SUBJECT: NORWEGIAN ASSISTANCE TO NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: OSLO 1846, 2085 (NOTAL) AND 1820

1. FONOFF ANNOUNCED AT PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 30 PROPOSAL  
FOR 15 MILLION KRONER AID PACKAGE TO NIGERIA/BIAFRA  
CONSISTING 3,000 TONS STOCKFISH VALUED AT 12 MILLION  
KRONER, 2 MILLION KRONER TO DEFRAY COST PACKING AND SHIPPING  
FISH TO NORWEGIAN PORT, AND 1 MILLION KRONER CASH GRANT TO  
ICRC. STOCKFISH TONNAGE AND VALUE AID PACKAGE SAME AS  
REPORTED OSLO 1846. PROPOSAL REQUIRES PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL.  
BREAKDOWN AS FOLLOWS:

(A) ICRC WOULD RECEIVE ONE MILLION KRONER CASH GRANT AND  
500 TONS STOCKFISH PLUS ONE HALF MILLION KRONER TO DEFRAY

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POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 04889 311656Z

47

ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCSE 00,

SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, EI 15, INT 06, COM 08, NEA 13, RSR 01,

184 W

126029

R 311328Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6895  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 4889

USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP MAY 31

1. TIMES AND SKETCH REPORT REBEL AIR ATTACK EVENING  
MAY 29 ON POWER STATION AT UGHELLI IN SOUTH MID-WEST.  
TIMES STATES ACCORDING TO EYEWITNESS ROCKET FIRED AT  
ECN STAFF RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS. UGHELLI REPORTEDLY  
PLUNGED INTO DARKNESS FOR FEW HOURS AND WARRI SLIGHTLY  
AFFECTED. REPORTS NO DAMAGE DONE TO POWER STATION OR

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04889 311656Z

OTHER QUARTERS. ALSO STATES NO CASUALTIES AND LIGHT  
ALREADY RESTORED TO CONSUMERS IN AREA. SKETCH STORY  
FOLLOWS REUTERS REPORT WHICH SAID TWO PERSONS WOUNDED  
AND STATION HIT BUT GENERATING CAPACITY UNAFFECTED.

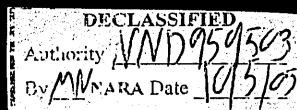
2. TIMES POST, SKETCH AND PILOT REPORT ON ONE-DAY  
VISIT OF GOWON TO LOME. AT AIRPORT ON RETURN FROM  
LOME GENERAL REPORTEDLY CALLED ON NIGERIANS TO REMAIN  
CALM AND STATED THAT NAF INCREASING VIGILANCE AND ALL  
REBEL AIRSTRIPS WOULD SOON BE PUT OUT OF USE BY  
COMBINED ARMY AND NAF OPERATIONS. WHEN ASKED BY  
REPORTER ABOUT CONTINUED DETENTION OF PLAYWRIGHT WOLE  
SOYINKA, GENERAL STATED THAT HE WOULD BE RELEASED  
"WHEN TIME OPPORTUNE" ADDING THAT SOYINKA WELL-TREATED.  
ON RECENT STATEMENT BY NIGERIAN BAR ASSN THAT CERTAIN  
EDICTS ABRIDGE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS, GENERAL STATED  
"HAVEN'T I GIVEN EVERYBODY ENOUGH FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT  
AND ACTION. EVERYBODY WHO HAS BEEN DETAINED HAS BEEN  
DETAINED FOR A REASON. WE DON'T JUST DUMP PEOPLE INTO  
JAIL FOR SAKE OF IT." GENERAL REPORTEDLY WARMLY  
RECEIVED IN LOME AND DISCUSSIONS HELD WITH PRESIDENT  
EYADEMA ABOUT AFRICAN AND WORLD PROBLEMS. TOGOLESE  
ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE RATIFIED TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED  
IN 1966 BETWEEN NIGERIA AND TOGO.

3. OBSERVER REPORTS FMG TROOPS RECAPTURED OKPAI NEAR  
WHICH ITALIAN OIL MEN CAPTURED THREE WEEKS AGO BY  
REBELS AND FOUND FIVE BODIES AND SIX SHALLOW GRAVES  
WHICH BELIEVED TO CONTAIN OIL MEN SLAIN BY REBELS.  
PERSONAL EFFECTS BELONGING TO OIL MEN ALSO REPORTEDLY  
FOUND. REPORT STATES THAT EYEWITNESS FOUND WHO SAID  
REBELS INITIALLY KILLED ONE GERMAN, ONE LEBANESE AND A  
NIGERIAN BEFORE OPENING FIRE ON CARAVAN WHERE ELEVEN  
OTHERS HIDING.

4. PAPERS REPORT STATEMENT ISSUED BY ITALIAN EMBASSY  
LAGOS DENY REPORT THAT SWEDISH PLANES USED TO ATTACK  
NIGERIAN AIRFIELDS WERE PURCHASED BY ITALIAN COMPANY.  
STATEMENT SAID NO SUCH COMPANY AS MENTIONED IN SWEDISH  
EMBASSY RELEASE ON VON ROSEN EXISTED AND NO FIRM IN ITALY  
OF ANY DESCRIPTION HAD EVEN BOUGHT THESE PLANES.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 04889 311656Z

TM. NEW NIGERIAN REPORTS INTERVIEW WITH FMG SOLDIER WHO ESCAPED FROM REBELS. SOLDIER STATED THAT REBELS MASSACRED THREE HUNDRED FEDERAL POW'S BEFORE REBEL WITHDRAWAL FROM UMUAHIA. TROOPS HAD BEEN CAPTURED LATE LAST YEAR IN OKOT EKPENE SECTOR FIGHTING AND HELD IN CAMP AT UMUAHIA.

6. POST COLUMNIST REMI ILORIN CALLS ON FMG TO FIND OUT WHAT FOREIGN COUNTRIES FINANCING AND HELPING VON ROSEN. ENDS WITH BELLICOSE CALL ON FMG TO RECOGNIZE THAT "WAR IS WAR AND REBELS AND COLLABORATORS NOT JOKING." PAPERS ALSO REPORT CALL BY NORTH CENTRAL STATE COMINFO FOR FMG TO DISREGARD FOREIGN PUBLIC OPINION AND BE MORE RESOLUTE AND RUTHLESS IN EFFORTS TO CRUSH REBELLION. OBSERVER EDITORIAL CALLS FOR FMG TO LET NIGERIANS KNOW WHAT ARE REAL ACTIVITIES OF SOME OF RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS. MAKES PARTICULAR POINT OF "RATHER MYSTERIOUS DR. AUGUST LINDT" SAYING HE HAS BEEN "SCURRYING ABOUT LATELY AS MESSENGER BOY IN TRYING TO NEGOTIATE RELEASE OF FOREIGN OIL WORKERS." STATES THAT THESE MEN NOT INVOLVED IN WAR AND LINDT INSTEAD OF "NEGOTIATING SHOULD HAVE DEMANDED IMMEDIATE RELEASE OR PUT FULL STOP TO SUPPLY OF ALL RELIEF TO REBELS". ALSO ATTACKS FATHER BAYER FOR STATEMENT THAT OIL MEN MIGHT HAVE BEEN KILLED BY NIGERIAN SOLDIERS. MOVES ON TO VON ROSEN AND SWEDES IN GENERAL CALLING SWEDES WORLD'S GREATEST NEUTRALISTS "AS LONG AS SOMEBODY ELSE FIGHTS THEIR WARS" AND WORLD'S GREATEST MORALISTS "AS LONG AS IT DOES NOT CONCERN THEIR OWN MORALITY". FINDS GOS STATEMENT "FIRMLY DISASSOCIATING ITSELF FROM ACTION OF THIS MILITARY NATURE" INADEQUATE. ASKS HOW SWEDISH NEWSPAPERS GOT THEIR INTERVIEW WITH VON ROSEN. SUGGESTS SAME PLANS WHICH CARRY RELIEF SUPPLIES USED AS "CARRIER PIGEONS" ON RETURN TRIP.

OLSON

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Authority VND 959503  
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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 936

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04870 301414Z

54  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORMI 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,  
UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, RSR 01,  
/146 W

5-30-69  
4870

PI R 301330Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6889  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
USMISSION GENEVA

121797

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 4870

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE AIR ATTACK ON UGHELLI

SWEDISH AMBASSADOR TOLD CHARGE THIS  
MORNING THAT SWEDISH TECHNICIANS UGHELLI  
REPORT POWER PLANT HIT IN AIR ATTACK  
MAY 29 BY SEVEN ROCKETS. WE UNABLE CONFIRM WITH ECN OR  
SHELL BP AS YET BUT REPORT POSSIBLE.  
OLSON

①

CONFIDENTIAL  
26

0805

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ORIGIN/ACTION

AF5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

Pal 27 B. Africa/Nigeria  
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RM/R	REP	AF
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ARA	EUR	FE
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AGR	COM	FRB
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TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSO	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
PASS		NSC
6		6

A-249

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : ADDIS ABABA, ALGIERS, IBADAN, KADUNA, LONDON, OTTAWA,  
STOCKHOLM, WARSAW

DEPT PASS: USMISSION GENEVA, USMISSION USUN, OSD (FOR CINCSTRIKE)

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

DATE: May 30, 1969

SUBJECT: International Observers Team: Fifth Interim Report by UN  
Representative for Period January-April, 1969

REF : Lagos A-220, of May 13, 1969

Pal 3781 Pal 27-9. 13.19.69. Lagos  
Pal 27 B. Africa/Nigeria  
Attached is the full text of the above report, issued by the Representative

of the Secretary-General to Nigeria on Humanitarian Activities.

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Drafted by:

POL:FPicard:mjr

5/29/69

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL:EERamsaurJr

Clearances:

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Authority

By MVA Date 10/5/05



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Encl. No. 1  
A- 249 from Lagos

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION - PRESS RELEASE

Friday, May 16, 1969

No. F. 531

FIFTH INTERIM REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO NIGERIA ON  
HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES

Introduction

1. This report covers the period from the publication of the Fourth Interim Report in January 1969 to the end of April 1969. During this time the official-in-charge of the mission of the Secretary-General to Nigeria on Humanitarian Activities undertook a series of visits to those parts of Nigeria affected by the war, which were under Federal control. In his capacity as observer, the official-in-charge traveled to each of the three main fronts, at times together with a representative of the OAU, with members of the Country Observer Team and, on occasion, alone. In the course of his visits he saw towns, villages, market places and outlying rural areas as well as camps for displaced persons, hospitals, orphanages and food distribution centres. He met and spoke to members of the armed forces of all ranks, civilian administrators, relief workers and many others.
2. Excepting minor logistical difficulties concerning transport, the observer was on no occasion prevented from going where he wanted when he wanted or from speaking privately to anyone he wished. One problem, however, became apparent during the recent advance of the Federal troops. Although the observer was expected to visit "newly liberated" areas at the earliest opportunity, the Federal Military Government, in accordance with the terms of reference concerning the observers, had accepted responsibility for the observer's safety. Consequently, he might be hindered in visiting places when he desired by potential exposure to sniper fire and ambush as well as the continuing danger from mined approach roads. The Federal Military Government was made aware of this and undertook to provide access to all "newly liberated" areas as soon as these could possibly be considered secure. This promise was fully implemented during the observer's most recent visit to the Northern Front when he was enabled to visit Umuahia less than two days after it fell to the Federal Army.

Conduct of the War

3. There have been no major changes in the military situation in the west. In the north, however, the Federal troops captured during April the villages of Ozuakoli, Ngu and Bende and the important town of Umuahia, former administrative capital of the other side. In the south the Federal garrison was obliged to withdraw from Owerri after a prolonged siege.
4. As reported before, destruction throughout the war-affected areas was extensive although it varied significantly from place to place. Of the

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major towns Onitsha was still the most seriously damaged although Port Harcourt and to a lesser extent Enugu had also suffered. Umuahia, however, at the time of the observer's visit, was surprisingly intact. Although there were obvious signs of fighting in the built-up area and the inevitable damage caused by breaking open doors and windows was apparent everywhere, there was little or no evidence of heavy bombing or shelling. The secessionist leader's headquarters, the post office and many other public buildings were virtually undamaged. Of places inspected, only the market area near the railway in the centre of the town had suffered although the cause was not clear. The Queen Elizabeth Hospital showed superficial signs of small arms fire, and in that part of the compound visited the observer found one mortar crater but no indications of bombing. The entire town had been efficiently and systematically evacuated and almost all moveable property taken away.

5. Roads and bridges throughout the war-affected areas were in poor repair. The digging of defensive ditches, mining, and the deliberate destruction of bridges, in addition to the wear and tear of heavy vehicles, had greatly accelerated the normal process of deterioration.

#### Bombing

6. Allegations in March concerning the bombing of civilian objectives were referred at once to the Commanding Officer of the Nigerian Air Force. The Observer was again assured that the policy of the Government was to avoid civilians, and orders had been given that pilots would "not, repeat not, hit non-military targets." However, in a war situation and with only limited intelligence it was inevitable that casualties occurred. It was conceded that non-military targets might have been hit although the reports were thought to be partially inaccurate and largely exaggerated. However, a signal was sent on 5 March requiring "complete compliance" of Field Commanders to the instructions already issued to the Air Force.

During visits to divisional headquarters the Observer had the opportunity to meet operational commanders and verified the instructions emanating from Lagos as well as orders given locally. It was felt that the renewed instructions have had a restraining effect. No further allegations have since been received of the bombing of civilians although raids on military targets have been reported.

#### Conduct of the Troops

8. The officers made a good impression and, realizing that the purpose of the war was to unify the country, they maintained good relations with civilians of all tribal groups.

9. The code of conduct continued to be communicated regularly to the other ranks, invariably before military action, and those who were questioned showed a good grasp of its meaning. With the rapid increase in recruitment it is hardly surprising that the men had only rudimentary training, and the

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effective control of large numbers of troops scattered throughout a wide area posed many problems. But no incidents were reported of indiscipline in the presence of officers, and an isolated case of a soldier accused of abusing his power was said to have been met with prompt disciplinary action.

Prisoners of War

10. Prisoners of war were held at the front only for interrogation before being sent to the rear, mostly to Lagos. Those seen in the divisions showed no signs of maltreatment or inadequate attention. Wounded prisoners of war were seen in hospital receiving treatment identical to that given to Federal troops.

11. The Federal Military Government has now arranged to house all prisoners of war in Lagos in a separate compound under military supervision. A disused prison in Lagos has been restored and will accommodate all the prisoners held at Kirikiri and Ikoyi prisons where they have been detained together with common-law offenders and civilian detainees under the civil prison authorities. Although a prison and not a camp, the new conditions showed a marked improvement: the cells were light and airy and the sleeping arrangements satisfactory. It is to be hoped that the prisoners will be moved soon.

12. Prisoners of war interviewed were receiving medical attention twice weekly and were visited monthly by the Red Cross. They had been given newspapers and had had the opportunity to write to their families although no replies had yet been received. Their physical condition was good and belied criticism of the food.

State of the Civilian Population

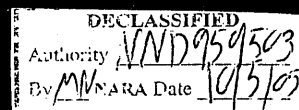
13. Progress in the return to normal life varied. Calabar in the South-Eastern State showed renewed trends towards peace-time conditions, and there were continuing improvements in the Uyo-Itu sectors as well as in other parts of the state although Ikot-Ekpene was still in the war zone and almost empty of civilians. It was particularly encouraging to see increased signs of cultivation in the rural areas. Schools were open and the courts were functioning.

14. Throughout the Rivers State primary schools had been opened and some secondary schools also. Magistrates had been appointed and judges were to be nominated in the near future. Conditions generally were improving although the population of the creeks required attention. In Port Harcourt itself a large proportion of the civilian population was reported to have returned although estimates varied so much as to be unreliable. Civilian administration and the provision of amenities had progressed, but few of the larger business concerns had begun to operate.

15. Of all the war-affected areas, the Mid-West had suffered the least, and with the exception of two camps for displaced persons, Benin showed virtually

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no trace of exposure to the war. At the time of the visit a new compound accommodated those displaced persons previously in Warri. They were housed together with some of the inhabitants of the old camp who had been moved to relieve overcrowding. Conditions in the new compound, which contained about 90 persons, were good and a number of craftsman had found work.

16. In Asaba the camp at St. Patricks, accommodating displaced persons from Ibusa, had been closed and the villagers had returned to their homes. Although they were still dependent on relief assistance for their food and medical attention, there was a marked improvement in morale throughout the area. Some 4,000 persons had already returned to Ibusa by the end of March and more were coming out of hiding. The provision of planting materials and tools should enable the Ibusa villagers to plant this season and be self-supporting by the next harvest. Since their return, people from other villages had begun to emerge from the bush, and at the time of the observer's visit Asaba had two new temporary camps for well over 1,000 people from Oku and Okoanala. In both camps the bulk of the food was supplied by the army, the Red Cross contributing milk and cornmeal, and an ICRC Medical Clinic was held several times a week. General conditions were reasonable with the exception of sanitary facilities which were about to be improved.

17. In the Federally controlled parts of the East Central State progress towards normal life was still slow. Onitsha remained close to the fighting zone and had no civilian population apart from those housed in the compound for displaced persons. This had not changed significantly since the observer's earlier visits; the school continued to function, food supplies were more than adequate and the army provided medical attention. But technicians and skilled persons (including electricians and mechanics) as well as others were still without employment.

18. In Enugu there were signs of returning life. The market was active and towards the end of April most of the town had water and electricity. Movement on the roads leading into and out of Enugu was considerable, but since Enugu itself, before the war, was an administrative rather than a commercial centre, it was hardly surprising that the number of resident civilians remained small.

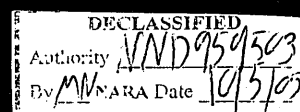
19. The rate of development in education throughout the state had been slow. Only two official schools were functioning although relief workers had been instrumental in improvising some 30 schools on a voluntary basis. Additional teachers were thought to be available, and if it were possible to employ this reservoir of qualified personnel in assisting villagers to repair buildings and reopen their schools - perhaps on a partial self-help basis - this might contribute to a sense of stability and the restoration of normal life.

20. The administration at Awgu was ostensibly in civilian hands and an Ibo district officer had been appointed, but there were still no civilian police force, postal service, water supply, electricity or courts.

21. Large numbers of people were reportedly coming out of the bush in the Achi district and from Nnewi. In Afikpo, at Aka-Eze and in the area south

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of Afikpo the observer saw many civilians. At Aka-Eze, for example, a small nucleus which had remained in the village since last autumn had swollen during the first week of April to 1,500 persons and towards the end of the month to approximately 5,200. At Afikpo a compound for displaced persons housed some 10,000 people and another about 2,000 from the Bende area.

22. In the southern part of the state the towns of Aba and Owerri had been emptied of civilians. Even before the change in the military situation, the civilians from Owerri, like those from Aba, had been moved to Port Harcourt where two camps had been established to accommodate displaced persons; one in a disused prison and the other in a residential suburb. Both showed evidence of high morale and were impressively well organised. Unfortunately, the disruption of agricultural activity will delay the return to normal life for at least a season after the villagers are permitted to move back to their farms.

23. However, in spite of the increasing number of persons who emerged in recent weeks, the percentage of educated Ibos was small. In Umuahia, for example, nearly all the remaining 70 odd civilians, including a provincial engineer and a qualified nurse from the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, were of Rivers State origin. Similarly, the majority of those from Bende who had moved to Afikpo were from the South East. Ibo farmers and villagers had in many places remained behind, but, with few exceptions, the only educated persons to stay behind or come through the lines were those with relatives or other contacts in Federal territory. It has been reported that professional Ibos were not permitted by the other side to cross the lines, and those who did so did it at the risk of their lives. Coupled with this was the genuine fear of reprisals in a still fluid military situation.

24. The Federal Government has been aware of the problem and has endeavoured to reassure those Ibos who wished to return. In the first place measures were taken to preserve the property of people of East-Central State origin, and nearly all the states of the Federation have provisions for the letting of abandoned houses, the collection and crediting of rent to an account in the owner's favour. The Federal Government has also undertaken to ensure that returning Ibos will have job opportunities equal to other Nigerians. Most posts previously held by Ibos in the Federal service had deliberately been left vacant in anticipation of the return of their former incumbents, and entitlements in respect of seniority, pension and gratuity are guaranteed.

#### Relief Activities

25. Relief continued to be organized by the army, which provided food to recent arrivals, the Nigerian Red Cross, the ICRC, and the National Rehabilitation Commission, UNICEF, the World Food Programme and other voluntary organizations. For example, with the exception of a small ward for twenty kwashiorkor patients and a new group of 400 malnourished persons coming out from hiding twenty miles to the north, malnutrition had been eradicated

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from the Udi area. Similarly at Uyo the situation had greatly improved.

26. In the South East determination of the relative role of the Nigerian Red Cross, the ICRC and the National Rehabilitation Commission had led to some friction but according to the latest reports, these problems had been resolved. The UNICEF helicopter airlift based in Calabar, which was indirectly affected by the misunderstanding, will not continue to function much longer since it is felt that the emergency needs requiring shipment of supplies by helicopter have been satisfied, and future transport of goods can take place by surface routes. The helicopter airlift will have cost nearly three-quarters of a million dollars.

27. The CRC have had to face one serious problem arising from the assumption some months ago that by this time it would be necessary to feed between four and four and a half million people. Although the numbers have grown significantly and an estimated one million people are receiving food, either on a daily or a weekly basis, the anticipated increase of persons in need has not yet occurred. Consequently, the intensive effort to build up sufficient stocks to meet the estimated demand has resulted in a supply surplus. But in spite of the shortage of warehouse space and the problem of rapid deterioration in a tropical climate, the ICRC have estimated that the total food loss in handling and from spoilage has not exceeded 0.5 percent, a figure much lower than the average for the region. During the rainy season the rate of spoilage is likely to increase, but it is hoped that through tighter control of shipments and more suitable packaging as well as the use of inflatable warehouses, the low percentage of loss may be maintained.

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XR POL 17-4 Biafra  
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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, CU 04, RSR 01, 162 W  
125281

R 300740Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2609  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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SUBJECT: BIAFRA

REF: LIBREVILLE 541

1. AS NOTED REFTTEL, BONGO SPIRITS BUOYED UP BY CREATION  
BIAFRAN AIRSTRIKE CAPABILITY AND NOW GOG NEWS MEDIA GIVING  
DAILY COVERAGE TO REPORTED EXPLOITS OF AIRCRAFT. MAY 28 GOG NEWS  
BULLETIN DEVOTED TWO PAGES TO AFP STORY ON COMMANDER  
"PRIVATE SWEDISH FORCE IN SERVICE BIAFRAN ARMY" VAN ROSEN.

2. WORTH NOTING SECOND ANNIVERSARY BIAFRAN DECLARATION  
INDEPENDENCE TO BE CELEBRATED LIBREVILLE MAY 30-JUNE 1  
WITH DANCES, OTHER ENTERTAINMENT, BIAFRAN-GABONESE FOOTBALL  
MATCH, CHURCH SERVICES, FRENCH CULTURAL CENTER TO BE LOCALE  
OF ONE OF FUNCTIONS FOR CHILDREN AND STUDENTS.  
BANE

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Pol 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SCS 04,

SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, RSR 01, UPW 01, /158 W  
----- 126540

R 300750Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2611  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 550

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN ATTACK AIRCRAFT

REF: LIBREVILLE 540

HAVE NOW SEEN PICTURE AND SPECS ON MFI-9B. IF THIS IS  
AIRCRAFT BEGIN USED BY BIAFRANS, OBVIOUS IT COULD HAVE  
BEEN OPENLY STAGED THROUGH LIBREVILLE AIRPORT, WHICH  
HAS LARGE NUMBER

SMALL PRIVATE PLANES ALL TYPES, WITH  
LITTLE RISK BEING NOTICED PROVIDED NO EXTERNAL ARMAMENT ATTACHED.  
ALSO CLEAR, WITH TAKE OFF RUN UNDER 500 FT. AND LOW FUEL  
REQUIREMENT OF ONLY 80 LITERS, STAGING THROUGH ALMOST ANY  
OF GABON'S NUMEROUS INTERIOR AIRSTRIPS QUITE FEASIBLE  
AND EASY ARRANGE  
BANE

Libreville 550  
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Washington, D.C. 20520

REG/R FILES

Attention *Mrs. Mallett*  
Keep this study together.

May 30, 1969

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KENT B. CRANE  
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Subject: Updating of Vice President  
Agnew's ROBO letter responses  
to questions concerning Viet-Nam,  
Nigeria/Biafra, and the Middle  
East

In response to Miss Donnel's request of  
May 21 there are enclosed draft suggested replies for  
your use in replying to questions on Viet-Nam and Nigeria/  
Biafra. We see no need for change in your ROBO letter on  
the Middle East. Also enclosed are two copies each of our  
standard language material on Nigeria/Biafra and the Middle  
East, which may be useful to you in replying to more detail-  
ed inquiries. As soon as our standard language on Viet-Nam  
is revised to reflect President Nixon's May 14 address, we  
will forward copies of it also.

The original correspondence is returned for  
your files.

*Samuel Walsh*  
John P. Walsh  
Acting Executive Secretary

Enclosures:

As stated.

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P - Mr. *Chas*  
P/PS - Mr. *Cleveland*

P/PS/PCD:ERHurstston:rbh:JMK S/S8171  
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POL 27 VIETS  
POL 27 BIERA-NIGERIA  
POL 27 RRB-15

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
POL 3 OAU  
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22

ACTION: SS: 70

INFO: OCT 01, SSO: 00, CCO: 00, NSCE: 00, USIE: 00, CIAE: 00, /071 W  
----- 120553

O: PI 291440Z MAY 69  
FM: AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6860  
INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU

S: E I C R I E T LAGOS 4819

L I M D I S

C O I R R I E C T E I D I C O P I Y (PARAGRAPH 12)

REFERENCE: STATE 084897

1. FERGUSON AND CHARGEI CALLED ON ARIKPO THURSDAY 29 MAY. PRESENT AT BEGINNING TALKS WAS LADIPO, EURO-WESTERN DIV., EXTAFF. LATER ENAHORO JOINED.

2. ARIKPO INFORMED THAT USG SERIOUSLY DISTURBED AT FMG SUGGESTION OF ROLE FOR HIM OR OAU IN SURFACE ROUTE TALKS. FERGUSON STATED THAT HIM OR OAU INVOLVEMENT PRESENTED GRAVE RISK TO INTEGRITY U.S. POLICY WHICH DRAWS DISTINCTION BETWEEN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF MATTERS AND POLITICAL MATTERS. RE: POLITICAL MATTERS WE STRONGLY SUPPORT ROLE HIM AND OAU AND FMG POSITION RE OAU FUNCTION ON RELIEF USG CONCERNED WITH VICTIMS BOTH SIDES. POINTED OUT THAT MAINTAINING SUCH DISTINCTION ONLY WAY FERGUSON AS USG OFFICIAL CAN FUNCTION BOTH ON FMG AND REBEL SIDE. HENCE INVOLVEMENT HIM OR OAU OR HOST GOVERNMENT IN TALKS BETWEEN SIDES INCONSISTENT WITH USG POLICY WHICH RECENTLY BEEN WORKING VERY WELL FOR FMG IN U.S. AND OTHER AREAS. INFORMED ARIKPO THAT BIAFRA HAS DIPLOMATIC OBJECTIVE OF INVOLVING USG IN POLITICAL TALKS.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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3. POINTED OUT THAT HIM OR OAU INVOLVEMENT IN VIEW OF HISTORY WOULD PRESENT HIGH PROBABILITY RISK THAT TALKS WOULD BECOME POLITICAL OR COMPLEX POLITICAL ISSUES WOULD BECOME ENTANGLED IN TECHNICAL RELIEF DISCUSSIONS. ONLY WAY TO AVOID RISK WOULD BE TO EXCLUDE PARTIES HAVING POLITICAL POSITIONS, I.E. HIM, OAU OR HOST GOVERNMENTS.

4. CONTEMPLATED TALKS WOULD BE ON RESOLUTION NECESSARY TECHNICAL QUESTIONS: ROUTES, TIME, LOADING-OFF-LOADING POINTS, INSPECTION, NATURE OF CARGOES, ETC. POINT PUT THAT REALLY LOOKING FOR "BACK ROOM" IN APPROPRIATE CITY WHERE PARTIES CAN AGREE IN SECRET ON NECESSARY MATTERS. STRESSED THAT SUCH AGREEMENT URGENT TO AVOID ACCIDENTS AND MISTAKES IN AN OPERATION TOUCHING BOTH SIDES.

5. ARIKPO TOLD USG VIEWS PUT TO HIM IN HOPE MATTER OF HIM-OAU INVOLVEMENT BE RECONSIDERED. NOTED THAT USG POSITION BASED NOT ON OBJECTIONS TO ANY PARTICULAR SITE, E.G. ADDIS, BUT ON NECESSITY OF KEEPING POLITICAL ISSUES OUT OF RELIEF MATTERS TO THE DEGREE POSSIBLE.

6. STATED THAT OF COURSE HIM AND OAU HAD BEEN FULLY INFORMED OF FERGUSON ACTIVITIES AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO WHATEVER EXTENT FMG DESIRED.

7. ARIKPO THEN REPEATED TO ENAHORO FERGUSON STATEMENT. (ENAHORO JOINED TALKS AT END FERGUSON STATEMENT.) IN ARIKPO REPETITION HE STRESSED NATURE OF TALKS CONTEMPLATED SECRET TECHNICAL DISCUSSION AND NO INVOLVEMENT OF HIM, OAU BECAUSE MAKE TALKS POLITICAL. ARIKPO ADDED THAT IF TALKS IN GHANA FOR EXAMPLE, GOG WOULD SIMPLY GIVE CONSENT AND PROVIDE PLACE, MAYBE TECHNICAL SERVICES, BUT WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN MEETING. FERGUSON AND CHARGE CONFIRMED ARIKPO'S UNDERSTANDING. ENAHORO SUGGESTED MONROVIA AS BETTER PLACE THAN ACCRA BECAUSE FEWER "SECURITY PROBLEMS" AND FACT THAT TUBMAN ONE WHO BEST UNDERSTOOD DISTINCTION BETWEEN HUMANITARIAN AND POLITICAL MATTERS IN USG POLICY.

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8. ARIKPO AGAIN RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER MEETING NECESSARY IF BOTH SIDES AGREED ON SAME THING. FERGUSON AND CHARGE RESTATED POSITION THAT MEETING NECESSARY TO ASSURE TROUBLE-FREE OPERATION. ENAHORO ALSO SEEMED CONVINCED SECRET TALKS NECESSARY.

9. ARIKPO SUGGESTED FERGUSON VISIT OTHER SIDE TO CONFIRM AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AND GET VIEWS ON VENUE THEN RETURN LAGOS AT WHICH POINT COULD DISPOSE OF QUESTION.

10. ARIKPO AND ENAHORO INDICATED MEETING WITH GOWON IMPOSSIBLE FRIDAY BUT COULD DEFINITELY SEE GOWON MONDAY, WHICH ALSO SEEMS BETTER FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW.

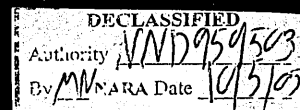
11. FERGUSON INFORMED ARIKPO THAT HE PLANS GO INTO ENCLAVE FRIDAY NIGHT, RETURN SUNDAY NIGHT AND SEE GOWON MONDAY.

12. COMMENT: CLEAR THAT ARIKPO FULLY UNDERSTANDS USG POSITION. ALSO CLEAR THAT FMG HAD PREVIOUS POSITION RE HIM AND OAU. FROM ENAHORO SUGGESTION MONROVIA FOR TALKS AND GENERAL RECEPTIVE MOOD, CIRCUMSTANCES TEND TO CONFIRM LINDT'S REPORT (LAGOS 4776) THAT BABA GANA LIKELY SOURCE OF HARD LINE POSITION RE HIM-OAU.

GP-3. OLSON

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L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

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0819

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By MW NARA Date 10/3/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

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1969 MAR 29 PM 5 13

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

703

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Geographic

Other

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S/S-CMS 3  
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ARA 9  
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EUR 10  
NEA 8

ACDA 5  
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Functional

CU 2  
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Principals and "S" Area

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Other

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By MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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(Time Received)

1969 MAY 29 PM 2 16

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 733

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Principals and  
"S" Area

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Geographic

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Functional

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Other

WH 10  
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DOD 1  
CIA 1  
USIA 4  
PC 1

Other

ACDA 5  
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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, IO 13,

UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, EI 15, DOT 12, MC 02, ACDA 16, /197 W

----- 118154

R 291625Z MAY 69

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3692

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMCONSUL GOTEBOG UNN

CONFIDENTIAL STOCKHOLM 1470

SUBJECT: SWEDISH PARTICIPATION IN BIAFRAN-NIGERIAN CONFLICT

REF: STOCKHOLM 1443

1. RYDING (ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL, FONOFF) TOLD CHARGE MAY 29 THAT IT WAS NOT YET POSSIBLE TO PERCEIVE WHAT EFFECT VON ROSEN'S AIR CAMPAIGN WOULD ULTIMATELY HAVE ON COURSE OF NIGERIAN CONFLICT. EARLY FMG REACTION HAS APPEARED "SHARP," BUT THREE-DAY HOLIDAY IN LAGOS IS DELAYING ACCURATE ASSESSMENT OF WHAT MAY HAPPEN NEXT.

2. RYDING SAID INITIAL REPORTS FROM SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN LAGOS LEND CREDENCE TO CONCERN EXPRESSED IN PRESS HERE THAT VON ROSEN'S ACTIVITIES MAY ENDANGER CONTINUATION OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF FLIGHTS. BEYOND THAT THERE WAS DANGER, RYDING THOUGHT, THAT AIR ATTACKS FROM BIAFRA COULD LEAD TO GENERAL HARDENING OF LAGOS' ATTITUDE AND RENEWED ATTEMPT TO BRING WAR TO END BY MILITARY MEANS.

GP-3

FOGARTY

CONFIDENTIAL

STOCKHOLM - 1470

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By MNA Date 10/5/05





POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, AID 28, UCF 05, UPW 01,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, RSR 01, 142. W

105642

R 281146Z MAY 69:  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6848  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS: 4797

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP: MAY 28

1. TIMES AND SKETCH HEADLINE REBEL AIR ATTACK ON ENUGU  
MORNING MAY 26. TIMES REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO  
"TOP MILITARY SOURCE IN LAGOS" AIRCRAFT DROPPED "HOME MADE BOMBS, ONE  
OF WHICH SLIGHTLY HIT TAIL OF ONE AIRCRAFT."  
REUTERS SOURCES IDENTIFY CRAFT DEFINITELY AS SWEDISH MFI 9B CRAFT.  
BOTH PAPERS ALSO REPORT REUTERS COVERAGE OF SWEDISH NEWSPAPER  
EXPRESSEN  
INTERVIEW WITH COUNT VON ROSEN IN "SECRET BASE IN  
REBEL-HELD TERRITORY"  
IN WHICH HE STATED HE PERSONALLY LED ATTACK ON PORT HARCOURT  
AND IS NOW COLONEL IN REBEL AIR FORCE. FOUR PILOTS IDENTIFIED  
BY NAME AS TWO SWEDES AND TWO REBELS. TIMES REPORTS INTERVIEW WITH

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04797 281411Z

SWEDISH AMBASSADOR LAGOS IN WHICH HE STATED "MY GOVERNMENT MOST UPSET ABOUT INCIDENT" AND THAT NIGERIAN CHARGE STOCKHOLM HOLDING DISCUSSION WITH SWEDISH MINEXSTAFF. AMBASSADOR STATED HIS GOVERNMENT HAD ISSUED NO LICENSES FOR ANY PLANES FOR REBEL AREAS AND IF PLANES DID COME FROM SWEDEN THEY MUST HAVE BEEN PURCHASED BY "FRIENDLY COUNTRY" AND REEQUIPPED FOR MILITARY PURPOSES"

2. POST REPORTS WEST AFRICA INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL GOWON IN WHICH HE REPORTEDLY STRESSED THAT ULT AIRSTRIPE MUST BE TAKEN. ALSO SAID HE WAS WILLING TO DEAL WITH ANYBODY WHO WANTED GENUINE SETTLEMENT AND POINTED OUT NUMBERS OF RETURNING IBOS ON FMG SIDE. EXPRESSE DESIRE TO WELCOME BACK ANY REPENTANT REBEL LEADER.

3. POST AND NEW NIGERIAN BOTH CARRY EDITORIALS ON SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF CREATION OF TWELVE STATES. POST PRAISES CREATION OF THE STATES BUT WARNS "DANGEROUS TREND FORMING" IN THAT MANY PEOPLE SEEM TO HOLD "ERRONEOUS VIEW" THAT STATE IS FOR INDIGENES OF THAT STATE ONLY. CALLS ON ALL INFORMATION MEDIA TO MOUNT CAMPAIGN TO INFORM PUBLIC THAT THIS WAS NOT INTENTION OF DECREE AND THAT PURPOSE WAS TO CREATE ONE NIGERIA, NOT "TWELVE COUNTRIES". TO CARRY OUT GOAL OF "NIGERIANIZING" COUNTRY, CALLS FOR INTERCHANGE OF "ENGENDER INTER-STATE UNDERSTANDING". NEW NIGERIAN EDITORIAL PRAISES CREATION OF STATES AND CALLS THEM ON WHOLE SUCCESS. SAYS REASONS FOR CREATION OF STATES INCLUDED DESIRE TO REMOVE MINORITIES' FEARS OF DOMINATION BY LARGER TRIBES AND TO PROVIDE POLITICAL BACKGROUND TO CONTAIN REBELLION. STATES THAT WHILE MANY WELL-INFORMED NIGERIANS APPRECIATE COURAGE AND DISCIPLINE OF MEN AT FIGHTING FROM FMG MUST KNOW THAT THERE ARE OMINOUS RUMBLINGS IN BACKGROUND. CONTINUES THAT THERE IS "WIDESPREAD PUBLIC DISILLUSIONMENT AT CONDUCT OF SOME COMMISSIONERS, CIVIL SERVANTS, SOLDIERS AND POLICEMEN" AND CALLS FOR FMG TO CHECK THEIR "EXCESSES". OPINES ALSO THAT NIGERIANS ARE BECOMING "INCREASING CYNICAL" OF LEADERS' STATEMENTS THAT "VICTORY JUST AROUND CORNER". ENDS WITH CALL TO FMG TO CARRY OUT "FIRST DUTY (WHICH) IS TO EMPLOY MAXIMUM EFFORTS TOWARDS FINISHING CONFLICT. ALL OTHER TASKS SHOULD WAIT."

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RM OBSERVER EDITORIAL STATES AIR RAIDS AND KIDNAPPING AND KILLING OF FOREIGN OIL WORKERS "IMPOSE GRAVE AND INESCAPABLE RESPONSIBILITY ON FEDERAL AUTHORITIES". OPINES THAT "LIMITED WAR ONLY ENCOURAGES THOSE WHO WOULD BE AGGRESSORS" AND THAT REBEL STATEMENTS THAT WAR JUST BEGINNING WAS NOT "BOAST ALONE". CALLS ON FMG TO "STOP LISTENING TO SOME VOICES FROM ABROAD, WHETHER THEY COME FROM WELL-INTENTIONED DO-GOODERS OR DEVIOUS SCHEMERS AND STOP LIMITING WAR EFFORT (BECAUSE) LONGER CIVIL WAR CONTINUES MORE NATION AS WHOLE WILL SUFFER." ENDED BY STATING "WE NOTED AT OUTSET, RESPONSIBILITY FACING FMG IS AS GRAVE AS IT IS URGENT. OBSERVER CHALLENGES IT TO FACE ITS OBVIOUS DUTY HEAD-ON." OLSON

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INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20

USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, IO 13, RSR 01, 158 W

112056

R 281545Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2601  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 540

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN ATTACK AIRCRAFT

REF: LAGOS 4779 NOTAL

1. WE UNABLE AT THIS TIME THROW MUCH LIGHT ON REPORTS BIAFRAN AIRCRAFT PILOTED BY SWEDISH PILOTS AGAINST NIGERIAN AIRPORTS WERE FLOWN BIAFRA FROM LIBREVILLE.

2. AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED, I RAISED QUESTION THESE AIRCRAFT WITH PRESIDENT BONGO AND FRENCH AMBASSADOR DELAUNEY AND BOTH PROFESSED TO HAVE NO INFORMATION ABOUT THEM.

3. WE HAVE REPORTED ON EVERY UNUSUAL OR UNFAMILIAR AIRCRAFT WE HAVE SEEN HERE FOR PAST EIGHT MONTHS. STAGING THROUGH LIBREVILLE IN FLYING CONDITION COULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITHOUT OUR KNOWLEDGE IF PLANES ARRIVED AND DEPARTED SAME NIGHT. IF SMALL ENOUGH, PLANES PERHAPS COULD HAVE BEEN HIDDEN FROM OUR VIEW IN HANGARS DURING DAYLIGHT. THEY COULD HAVE COME THROUGH LIBREVILLE WITHOUT OUR KNOWLEDGE IF BROKEN DOWN IN CRATES OR IN TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT AND FERRIED ON TO BIAFRA IN THAT CONDITION FOR SUBSEQUENT REASSEMBLY. ONE OTHER POSSIBILITY IS THAT PLANES STAGED THROUGH PORT GENTIL OR, IF SPECIAL FUELING ARRANGEMENTS WERE MADE AND PLANES HAVE BUSH AIRPORT CAPABILITY INDICATED BY SOME NEWS REPORTS, THROUGH AN INTERIOR GABONESE AIRSTRIIP. WE WILL ATTEMPT FOLLOW UP.

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CONFIDENTIAL

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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, RSR 01, /158 W  
----- 112103

R 281420Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2602  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 541

1. WHILE WAITING AIRPORT FOR MADAME BONGO ARRIVE LAST EVE 27TH,  
PRES BONGO TOLD ME THAT I WOULD BE HEARING ON RADIO SHORTLY THAT  
BIAFRAN AIRCRAFT HAD HIT ENUGU AIRPORT DAMAGING CONTROL TOWER  
AND PLANES ON GROUND. I ASKED BUT BONGO PROFESSED NOT TO KNOW  
ANY DETAILS ABOUT BIAFRA'S NEWLY ACQUIRED AIR CAPABILITY.

2. COMMENT: INTRODUCTION BIAFRAN AIR CAPABILITY HAS MANIFESTLY  
BUOYED UP BONGO'S SPIRITS.

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Libreville 541  
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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 08,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, AID 28, IO 13,

SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, UCF 05, MC 02, E 15, RSR 01, 186 W  
----- 111328

R 281605Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3683  
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMCONSUL GOTEBOG UNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STOCKHOLM 1443

SUBJECT: SWEDISH PARTICIPATION IN BIAFRAN-NIGERIAN CONFLICT

1. GOS HAS BEEN EMBARRASSED BY PRESS DISCLOSURES THAT SWEDISH COUNT GUSTAF VON ROSEN AND FOUR OTHER SWEDES, USING SWEDISH-MANUFACTURED PLANES, ARE APPARENTLY FIGHTING FOR BIAFRA AGAINST NIGERIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FORCES. FONOFF ISSUED PRESS COMMUNIQUE MAY 27 STATING THAT SWEDISH EMBASSY IN LAGOS HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INFORM FGN THAT GOS "FIRMLY DISSOCIATES ITSELF FROM ACTIONS OF THIS MILITARY NATURE." COMMUNIQUE ALSO STATES THAT INVESTIGATION WILL BE MADE TO SEE IF SWEDISH LAWS HAVE BEEN BROKEN (E.G., PROHIBITION OF EXPORT OF WAR MATERIALS TO FORCES ENGAGED IN CONFLICT AND PROHIBITION ON RECRUITMENT OF SWEDISH CITIZENS FOR PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICTS IN FOREIGN LANDS).

2. SWEDISH COMMERCE MINISTRY ISSUED COMMUNIQUE MAY 27 SAYING THAT PLANES IN QUESTION WERE EXPORTED TO FRANCE. NO EXPORT LICENSE WAS REQUIRED, COMMUNIQUE STATES, BECAUSE PLANES WERE TRAINING TYPE AND WINGS WERE NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO CARRY WEAPONS WHEN PLANES LEFT SWEDEN.

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PAGE 02 STOCKH 01443 290616Z

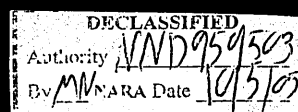
3. NIGERIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES DAYE OBUNGE HAS ARRIVED IN STOCKHOLM WITH THREE COLLEAGUES TO SET UP EMBASSY. HE CALLED ON MARC GIRON (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, POL AFFAIRS, FONOFF) MAY 27 AND WAS INFORMED OF SWEDISH GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS VON ROSEN'S ACTIVITY. OBUNGE WAS RESTRAINED IN TALKING TO PRESS AFTER MEETING AND SAID THAT HE HAD NOT RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS GOVERNMENT AS YET ABOUT THE VON ROSEN AFFAIR. HE TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE GOOD RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN NIGERIA AND SWEDEN.

4. IN GENERAL, SWEDISH PRESS HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF VON ROSEN ACTION PARTICULARLY BECAUSE IT MIGHT DAMAGE NORDIC HUMANITARIAN PROGRAM IN BIAFRA-NIGERIA CONFLICT. AT THE SAME TIME THERE IS OBVIOUS SYMPATHY FOR VON ROSEN'S "IDEALISTIC" MOTIVES (ESPECIALLY IN EXPRESSEN, WHICH HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY STRONG IN SUPPORT OF BIAFRA).

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18  
ACTION AF 18

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NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,  
IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, /153 W  
----- 096406

R 270805Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2586  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 523

1. RE PRESS REPORT TODAY BIAFRAN AIR ATTACK PORT HARCOURT,  
FRENCH AMB DELAUNEY (PLEASE PROTECT) TELLS ME BIAFRAN PLANE  
KNOCKED OUT TWO MIGS ON GROUND PORT HARCOURT.

2. DELAUNEY SAID BIAFRA HAS SEVERAL SMALL PLANES TYPE  
EMPLOYED RAID BUT HE DID NOT IDENTIFY MODEL.  
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BANE

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 158 W

104743

IR 271640Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2594  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 531

1. FRENCH AMB DELAUNEY TELS US HE HAS HAD CONFIRMATION BIAFRAN AIR ATTACK BENIN 24TH KNOCKED OUT TWO MIG'S AND ONE TRANSPORT PLANE.
  2. WE ASSUME INITIATION BIAFRAN AIR ACTIVITY IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT TO WHICH LOYD GARRISON MADE REFERENCE IN TALK WITH US LIBREVILLE 19TH AND PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE FOR BIAFRA.
- GP-3  
BANE

Libreville 531  
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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, IO 13,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 174 W  
098059

P R 271315Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6835  
TATE GRNC

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 4779

SUBJ: BIAFRAN ATTACKS ON NIGERIAN AIRPORTS

1. EMBASSY WILL NO DOUBT HAVE SEEN REPORTS THAT ATTACKS ON PORT HARCOURT AND BENIN AIRPORTS CARRIED OUT BY LIGHT AIRCRAFT FLOWN BY SWEDISH PILOTS.

2. STORIES INCLUDE ALLEGATION THAT FIVE MFI 9B TRAINERS EQUIPPED WITH ROCKET CAPABILITY IN FRANCE SHIPPED TO GABON AFL THEN FLOWN TO STRIPS IN REBEL TERRITORY.

3. INFORMATION AVAILABLE HERE IS THAT RAIDS WERE CONDUCTED BY AIRCRAFT WITH FIXED LANDING GEAR. ACCOUNTS VARY AS TO WHETHER AIRCRAFT OF TWIN-ENGINE OR SINGLE-ENGINE VARIETY. IF TWIN, WOULD NOT JIBE WITH MFI 9B BUT COULD BE DO 28'S.

4. ON ASSUMPTION AIRCRAFT STAGED AT LIBREVILLE WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY LIGHT EMBASSY COULD SHED ON MATTER.

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,  
SR 01, ORM 03, ACDA 16, IO 13, MC 02, E 15, NEA 13, SCSE 00, SCA 01,  
RSR 01, /200 W

R 271738Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 690  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

UNCLAS LONDON 4142

SUBJECT: TIMES REPORT ON AIR RAIDS

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REUTERS ITEM APPEARING TIMES TODAY  
(MAY 27) UNDER STOCKHOLM DATELINE:

"A 59-YEAR-OLD SWEDISH COUNT LED TWO RECENT BIAFRAN AIR RAIDS  
ON NIGERIAN AIRFIELDS, ACCORDING TO REPORTS HERE TODAY. THE  
NEWSPAPER EXPRESSEN SAID THE ATTACKS WERE CARRIED OUT BY  
SWEDISH PILOTS IN SINGLE-SEATER TRAINER AIRCRAFT SMUGGLED  
OUT OF SWEDEN.

(1) "EXPRESSEN SAID THAT COUNT CARL GUSTAFF VON ROSEN, WHO MADE  
SEVERAL FLIGHTS FOR RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS EARLIER THIS YEAR,  
LED THE ATTACKS. IT ASSERTED THAT HE TOOK A MONTH'S LEAVE  
FROM HIS JOB AS A CHARTER PILOT TO CARRY OUT OPERATION  
BIAFRA'S BABY - A PLAN TO WIPE OUT THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE IN  
THE SAME WAY THAT ISRAELI DEMOLISHED EGYPTIAN AIRCRAFT AT THE  
BEGINNING OF THE 1967 WAR. "BIAFRAN AIRCRAFT ATTACKED  
PORT HARCOURT AIRPORT ON THURSDAY AND BENIN AIRPORT ON SATURDAY,  
KILLING SIX PEOPLE AND DESTROYING A FEDERAL NIGERIAN MIG FIGHTER.  
"EXPRESSEN SAID THAT COUNT VON ROSEN, AFTER SEVERAL VISITS TO  
BIAFRA, PERSUADED GENERAL ODUMEGWU OJUKWU, THE SECESSIONIST

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*London - 4/42  
5-27-69*

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 04142 271826Z

STATE'S LEADER, TO ACCEPT THE PLAN. "FIVE TRAINER AIRCRAFT WERE TRANSPORTED TO FRANCE, WHERE EXPERTS WERE WAITING AT A MILITARY BASE OUTSIDE PARIS TO CONVERT THEM, THE NEWSPAPER SAID. EACH AIRCRAFT WAS FITTED WITH 12 ROCKETS. "THE PILOTS, HAND-PICKED BY THE COUNT, WERE INSTRUCTED TO TRAVEL TO PARIS SEPARATELY TO AVOID SUSPICION, ACCORDING TO EXPRESSEN. THE AIRCRAFT AND PILOTS WERE THEN TAKEN TO LIBREVILLE, IN GABON--ONE OF THE FOUR AFRICA STATES WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA.

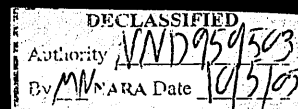
"THE NEWSPAPER QUOTED COUNT VON ROSEN AS SAYING. 'I HAVE LONG BEEN OBSESSED WITH THE THOUGHT THAT THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE COULD BE WIPED OUT ON THE GROUND WITH SPECIALLY EQUIPPED SPORTS AIRCRAFT.

"NIGERIAN AIRCRAFT HAVE TERRORIZED THE BIAFRAN POPULATION. WOMEN AND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF BOMBS AND BULLETS FROM AIRCRAFT SUPPLIED TO NIGERIA BY THE SOVIET UNION."

"THE COUNT WAS ACCUSED BY THE FEDERAL NIGERIAN AUTHORITIES THIS YEAR OF SMUGGLING ARMS INTO BIAFRA. HE DENIED THE CHARGE." ANNENBERG

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 416

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46  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, UPW 01, IO 13, AID 28, E 15, COM 08, INT 06,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, OPR 02,

RSR 01, 189 W

092168

R 261642Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6820  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL IBADAN UNN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 4745

SUBJ: MIDWEST SECURITY SITUATION

REF: LAGOS 4472

1. EMBASSY HELD MEETING MAY 22 WITH SEVERAL U.S. OIL AND SERVICE COMPANIES HAVING LARGEST NUMBER PERSONNEL AND MOST TRANSPORT RESOURCES IN WARRI-BURUTU-ESCRAVOS AREA TO DISCUSS CURRENT MIDWEST SECURITY SITUATION. CHARGE ADVISED COMPANIES WE SAW NO NEED FOR EVACUATION ANY PERSONNEL AT THIS TIME BUT SITUATION WARRANTED CONTINUING THOUGHT ABOUT POSSIBLE FUTURE NECESSITY. COMPANY REPS AGREED WITH THIS APPRAISAL AND STATED THEIR PERSONNEL AND DEPENDENTS IN AREA NOT OVERLY NERVOUS. COMPANIES ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONNEL CURRENTLY IN MIDWEST AT ABOUT 400 INCLUDING 30 DEPENDENTS, COMPARED TO 170 PLUS 30 REGISTERED WITH CONSULAR SECTION AND REPORTED REFTEL. COMPANIES REITERATED READINESS TO USE AS MUCH OF THEIR TUG AND SERVICE BOAT FLEET AS NEEDED TO EVACUATE EXPATRIATES IF OCCASION SHOULD ARISE. ESTIMATED THERE WOULD ALWAYS BE TWO OR THREE U.S. BOATS IN OR VERY NEAR WARRI TOWN WITH OTHERS TO BE BROUGHT IN FROM CREEKS AND OFFSHORE OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL HOURS. MANAGER OF GULF UNDERTOOK TO START CONSULATIONS WITH SHELL-BP TO TRY TO COORDINATE COMPANY EVACUATION

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PLANS.

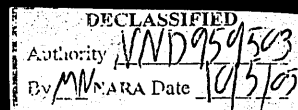
2. RUMORS CIRCULATING IN OIL COMMUNITY THAT UNIDENTIFIED AIRCRAFT MADE TWO PASSES OVER WARRI AT 2:00 AM MAY 25 AND DREW AA FIRE AND THAT THERE WAS SOME SORT OF HOSTILE AIRCRAFT INCIDENT AT UGHELLI (CENTER OF SHELL-BP'S MIDWESTERN PRODUCTION) MORNING MAY 26. WE THUS FAR UNABLE CONFIRM EITHER BUT FACT OF CIRCULATION INDICATES GROWING NERVOUSNESS OF EXPATRIATES IN MIDWEST AS RESULT OF ATTACKS ON BENIN AND PORT HARCOURT.

3. EMBASSY OFFICERS DISCUSSING E&E PLANS FOR MIDWEST WITH UK HIGH COMMISSION LATER THIS WEEK.  
GP-3 OLSON

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State

TELEGRAM

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, UPW 01,

UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /158 W

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R 261644Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6821  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
USIA WASHDC

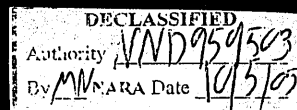
UNCLAS LAGOS 4746

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP MAY 24-26

1. MAY 24 TIMES REPORTED REBEL AIR ATTACK ON PORT HARCOURT MAY 22, STATING NO DETAILS AVAILABLE. ALL MAY 25 PAPERS HEADLINED MAY 24 AIR ATTACK ON BENIN. PUBLIC CALLED UPON TO STAY CALM, QTE INTENSIFY VIGILANCE UNQTE AND COOPERATE WITH MILITARY AND POLICE AUTHORITIES. REPORTS STATE ONE MIG DAMAGED AT PORT HARCOURT WITH NO CASUALTIES OR DAMAGE TO AIRFIELD. AT BENIN ONE MIG REPORTED DESTROYED AND ONE CIVILIAN AIRCRAFT, THE RUNWAY AND GLASS IN AIRPORT BUILDINGS DAMAGED. SIX PERSONS REPORTED KILLED IN BENIN. POST, ONLY, STATES AIRCRAFT WHICH ATTACKED BENIN QTE BOLDLY MARKED IN RED AND WHITE COLORS OF INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS UNQTE. PAPERS ALSO REPORT THAT NIGERIAN AIR FORCE ORDERED TO STEP UP QTE SEARCH AND DESTROY EFFORTS ON ALL STRETCHES OF ROAD IN REBEL-HELD TERRITORY WHICH ARE USED AS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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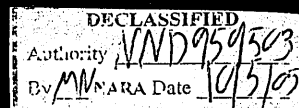
PAGE 02 LAGOS 04746 262035Z

AIRSTRIPS UNQTE. MAY 26 PAPERS REPORT DAMAGE TO TARMAC AT BENIN BEING REPAIRED IMMEDIATELY. MAY 26 PAPERS ALSO REPORT THREE AIRCRAFT OF NAFI ATTACKED AND STRAFED ULI AND QTE SECRET JUNGLE STRIP NEAR ORLU UNQTE. FOR EIGHT HOURS ON MAY 25 IN RETALIATION. ONLY SKETCH MAY 26 REPORTS CLAIM THAT AIRCRAFT WHICH ATTACKED PH AND BENIN WAS FRENCH PIPER AZTEC. CLAIMS THAT ATTACKS CARRIED OUT IN HOPES OF INFLUENCING WINNER OF FRENCH ELECTIONS TO CONTINUE SUPPORT TO REBELS BY SHOWING REBELS STILL QTE SOMETHING TO RECKON WITH UNQTE. MAY 25 SKETCH EDITORIAL EXPRESSES ITS FEELING THAT QTE FMG POLICY IN REGARD TO HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS OF WAR WHEREBY IT ALLOWED USE OF ULI- IHIALA AIRSTRIIP BY REBELS (FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS) IS OVERDUE FOR COMPLETE REAPPRAISAL UNQTE. STATES THAT WAR MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE PROLONGED AND THEREFORE QTE WE MUST CHOSE ONLY POSSIBILITY THAT OF FIGHTING WAR AND SUBDUING COMPLETELY REBELLION. (BECAUSE) REBELS HAVE DESTROYED ALL EDIFICE (SIC) OF PEACE UNQTE. MAY 26 POST EDITORIAL TITLED QTE ULI MUST BE DESTROYED UNQTE STATES THAT FMG RESTRAINT IN QTE SPARING ULI FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS UNQTE HAS BEEN SHOWN BY REBEL AIR ATTACKS ON BENIN AND PH TO BE QTE MISPLACED AND MISGUIDED UNQTE. SAYS REBELLION MUST BE CRUSHED AND TO DO THIS ULI AND ALL OTHER REBEL AIRSTRIPS MUST BE DESTROYED IMMEDIATELY. ENDS WITH CALL QTE LETS WHIP NATIONAL-BREAKERS FIRST AND EMBRACE AND REHABILITATE THEM LATER UNQTE. MAY 26 PILOT ALSO CARRIES EDITORIAL TITLED QTE REBEL ATROCITIES UNQTE STATING ULI MUST BE DESTROYED, NAF MUST BRING DOWN ANY AIRCRAFT VIOLATING NIGERIAN AIR SPACE AND ARMED FORCES MUST PUSH FORWARD TO LIBERATE REMAINING REBEL-HELD AREAS.

2. ALL PAPERS DURING THIS PERIOD CARRYING WIRE SERVICE STORIES ON EVENTS CONNECTED WITH PAPAL AND OTHER ATTEMPTS TO FIND OUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO OILMEN CAPTURED IN REBEL RAID IN MID-WEST, AND ATTEMPTS TO FREE THEM. SEVERAL REPORT REBEL ATTEMPTS TO EXACT DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OR QTE RANSOM UNQTE FOR OILMENS RELEASE. OLSON

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ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE		POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA	
EUR-6			<b>AIRGRAM</b>		POL 17 NIGERIA-SWE	
RM/R	REP	AP	A-295 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE			
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NEA	CU	INR	TO : Department of State			
E	P	IO	INFO : COPENHAGEN, GÖTEBORG, HELSINKI, LAGOS, LONDON, OSLO, REYKJAVIK			
L	FBO	AID	FROM : Amembassy STOCKHOLM			
SIP JPM			DATE: May 24, 1969			
AGR	COM	FRB	SUBJECT : Biafra Opens Information Office in Stockholm			
INT	LAB	TAR	As Nigerian Federal Government Plans to Open Embassy			
TR	XMB	AIR	REF :			
ARMY	CIA	NAVY	Dagens Nyheter, May 14, reported that "the Republic of Biafra" has opened			
3	20	5	an information office in Stockholm which will cover all of Scandinavia.			
OSD	USIA	NSA	Two representatives from Biafra will be permanently stationed in Stockholm:			
34	10	3	E. EYOMA and C. O. NWLKYE. According to the press report, the office			
		NSC	will not be connected with the Swedish Committee for Biafra.			
		6	A political officer at the British Embassy told the reporting officer that			
PL-2			the British had learned that the Federal Government of Nigeria is planning			
I			to open an embassy in Stockholm in the near future. According to the			
1969 MAY 28 AM 10 32			British diplomat, the Swedish Government has no objections to the opening			
COPY FLO-PBR			of a Nigerian Embassy here. (The Swedes maintain an embassy in Lagos.)			
			Jean-Christophe ÖBERG, aide to Foreign Minister NILSSON, told Embassy			
			officers on May 21 that the Nigerian Ambassador might well present his			
			credentials on June 27, and that the Ambassador plans to be resident			
			in Stockholm.			
			Comment: The Nigeria-Biafra conflict and the issue of support for Biafra			
			has been primarily the political property of the Swedish Liberal Party			
			(particularly the youth organization). The Swedish Social Democrats have			
			concentrated on Vietnam and national liberation movements. While most of			
			the press has published articles unfavorable to the Nigerian Federal			
			Government's position, the Liberal tabloid Expressen has been particularly			
			clamorous in its support of Biafra. Recently articles in Conservative			
			Svenska Dagbladet written by the Swedish assistant military observer in			
			Nigeria, Capt. Claes TAMM--which state that the Nigerians are not commit-			
			ting genocide--have been heavily criticized by the Liberal press.			
			Humanitarian assistance, on the other hand, has much broader support from			
			Swedish public opinion and the Government has to date been able to maintain			
			Exempted from automatic decontrol.			
			LIMITED OFFICIAL USE			
			FORM 62 DS-323			
			FOR DEPT. USE ONLY			
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Drafted by:			Contents and Classification Approved by:			
POL:WB			POL:AB			
Jr.:e in 5/22/69						
Clearances:						
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By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

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Stockholm A- 295

a moderate stance emphasizing the humanitarian aspects of the problem.  
The opening of a Nigerian Embassy in Stockholm is certain to bring  
young demonstrators into the streets, however.

FOGARTY

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By	MN NARA Date 10/3/03



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCS 04,

SCA 01, ACDA 16, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04,

HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, E 15,

RSR 01, 177 W

075790

P R 231030Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6749  
INFO AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USINT SANTA ISABEL  
USMISSION USUN  
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 4628

SUBJECT: FMG PUBLIC POLICY ON INTERDICTION OF ULI AIRSTRIP

1. LAGOS PAPERS MAY 22 CARRIED A REUTERS REPORT FROM ROME ALLEGING RELIEF AND ARMS PLANES HAD BEEN UNABLE TO LAND AT ULI SINCE THE NIGHT OF MAY 20 AS A RESULT OF INTENSIVE BOMBARDMENT BY FEDERAL FORCES. VATICAN SOURCES WERE CITED AS SAYING THAT MONSIGNOR BAYER SENT BY THE POPE TO INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF THE CAPTURED EUROPEAN OILMEN HAD BEEN UNABLE TO ENTER REBEL TERRITORY.

2. LATE MAY 22 THE FMG MINISTRY OF DEFENSE ANNOUNCED THAT STORY OF ALLEGED ATTACK BY THE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE ON THE REBEL AIRSTRIP AT ULI-IRIALA WAS "INCORRECT". (COMMENT: ORIGINAL STORY DID NOT SAY IT WAS NIGERIAN AIR FORCE "BUT WAS INTENSIVE BOMBARDMENT" AND "HEAVY SHELLING") THEN IN PUZZLING AND CONTRADICTIONARY PASSAGE FMG STATEMENT SAID "AIR FORCE NIGHT RAIDS WHICH HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT WITH

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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GREATER INTENSITY DURING THIS WEEK HAVE BEEN THE ONLY DETERRENT, CAUSING THE DESTRUCTION OF ONE AIRCRAFT ON THE GROUND AT ULI AND THE RETURN TO THEIR HOME BASES OF MANY OTHERS. ULI IHIALA RUNWAY LIGHTING HAS BEEN DESTROYED TO A LARGE EXTENT AND THE REBELS HAVE RESORTED TO THE USE OF NIGHT GOOSE-NECKS (KEROSENE LAMPS) WHICH THEIR GUN-RUNNERS HAVE AUTOMATICALLY REFUSED TO ACCEPT."

3. COMMENT: FMG ARE APPARENTLY IN AWKWARD POSITION OF HAVING UNWITTINGLY PICKED THIS WEEK TO INTENSIFY AIR FORCE ATTEMPTS TO INTERDICT ULI EITHER WITHOUT PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF PAPAL MISSION OR DELAYED RECOGNITION ITS IMPORTANCE. THEIR DENIAL OF THE ATTACK ON ULI IS APPARENTLY AN EFFORT TO DISCREDIT THE STORY OUT OF ROME WHICH IMPLIED THAT IT WAS FEDERAL AIR ACTIVITY WHICH WAS PREVENTING THE PAPAL EMISSARY FROM ASSISTING THE CAPTURED OILMEN. IN THIS CONNECTION REUTERS CORRESPONDENT LAVAL (PROTECT) STRONGLY BELIEVES STORY WAS INSPIRED IN ROME BY BIAFRANS. AT THIS STAGE WE CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT THE FMG ARE TRYING (1) TO DENY THEY HAVE DONE ANYTHING TO HOLD UP THE BAYER MISSION WHILE (2) SERVING NOTICE THAT THEY INTEND TO STEP UP RAIDS ON THE AIRSTRIP. THIS WOULD BE DIFFICULT DISTINCTION TO MAKE EVEN WITH SOPHISTICATED COORDINATED INFORMATION EFFORT BUT NET RESULT SO FAR HAS BEEN CONFUSING AND CONTRADICTORY STATEMENT MARKED BY CHARACTERISTIC FMG INEPTNESS. YESTERDAY LAVAL GUERIED AIR FORCE HEAD ALAO AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF EKPO IN AN EFFORT TO CLARIFY FMG POLICY BUT MET WITH STONE WALL IN TRYING ELICIT CLARIFICATION AND FURTHER INFORMATION OF FMG POLICY. INFO DIRECTOR EPELE WASHED HANDS OF MATTER SAYING MINISTRY OF DEFENSE HAD PUT OUT "STUPID" STATEMENT FOR WHICH HE COULD ACCEPT NO RESPONSIBILITY.

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By <i>MM</i> NARA Date <i>10/5/05</i>

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

~~XL~~ POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28,

EUR 17, CIAE 00, OODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W  
..... 076496

R 231125Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2127  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONU 557

FOR FERGUSON FROM DAWSON

SUBJECT: RSM

1. FOR FIRST TIME IN SEVERAL NIGHTS, BOMBER DID NOT APPEAR  
ULI NIGHT OF MAY 22. TO AVOID BOMBERS ICRC HAD DECIDED  
CHANGE FLIGHT PLANS TO TWO PER NIGHT BY HOLDING FIRST WAVE  
UNTIL 1800Z. DUE TO RAPID OFFLOADING MEASURES AND UNDOUBTELY  
CUTTING CORNERS ON IN AND OUTBOUND FLIGHT PATTERNS AT LEAST ONE  
C-97 MANAGED THREE TRIPS. EIGHT ICRC TRIPS MADE DURING NIGHT.

2. THERE ARE SEVERAL EXPLANATIONS CURRENT FOR APRIL BOMBING  
PAUSE. SOME CREW MEMBERS, WHO CLAIM TO KNOW BOMBER PILOT,  
SAY BOTH ENGINES OF BOMBER HAD TO BE REPLACED. ANOTHER STORY  
IS ONYWRI SIEGE USED ONLY AVAILABLE LOW FLYING AND SLOW PISTON  
ENGINE AIRCRAFT FMG HAS FOR AIRDROPS. (ONE AIRCRAFT SAID TO BE  
OLD UK TRANSPORT/BOMBER.) PLAUSIBLE EXPLANATION BOMBING PAUSE  
WOULD BE COMBINATION THESE STORIES. KNOX

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By MVA Date 10/3/05

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ORIGIN/ACTION

AF-5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

POL 18 NIGERIA  
X.P. POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

RS/R	REP	AF	ARA
1			
EUR	FE	NEA	CU
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USIA	NSA	CIA	
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NJC			
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FILE			

Action Taken:

Date:

Initials:

Drafted by: WCMithoefer, Jr.:gor

Circumstances: EMB:POL:EEERamsaur

Original to be Filed in \_\_\_\_\_ Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

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A-77

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO: KADUNA, LAGOS, LONDON, CINCSTRIKE, DIA

FROM : Amconsul IBADAN

DATE: May 22, 1969

SUBJECT : Military Governor Johnson Almost Went to War

REF : Lagos Tel 4104; Ibadan Tel 128

The referenced Ibadan telegram reported that the Military Governor of the Lagos State, Colonel M. Johnson, had claimed that he had requested to be reassigned.

On May 19 a member of the Johnson family who had been present during the previous conversation referred to a statement by the Chief of Staff of the Nigerian Army which appeared in the New Nigerian of the same date. The statement said: "Brigadier Hassan Katsina remarked that he was about to post a Military Governor to the war fronts, as a divisional commander, but this decision was altered at the last moment." Johnson's relative said that the Military Governor referred to was Colonel Johnson and the posting had been considered last January, but had been rejected by Gowon.

MITHOEFER

GROUP 3

Downgraded at 12-year intervals,  
NOT automatically declassified.

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Drafting Date: 5/21/69

Phone No.:

Contents and Classification Approved by: WCMithoefer

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By: MNARA Date: 10/3/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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TELEGRAM

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SCS 04, SCA 01,  
SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, PC 04, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, 162 W  
----- 070548

R 221633Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6734  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 4605

USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP - MAY 22

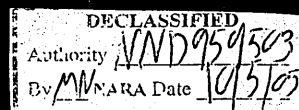
1. (ULI-IHIALA AIRSTRIP REPORTEDLY BOMBARDED. (DAILY TIMES) AND (MORNING POST) BOTH FEATURED STORY THAT ULI-IHIALA AIRSTRIP HAS BEEN UNDER INTENSIVE BOMBARDMENT BY FEDERAL FORCES SINCE MAY 20. AS RESULT, ACCORDING TO THE STORY, A SPECIAL PAPAL EMISSARY, MONSIGNOR KARL BAYER, WAS UNABLE TO REACH BIAFRA IN ORDER TO DETERMINE FATE OF THE 27 MISSING EX-PATRIATE OILMEN. ONLY ONE RELIEF AIRPLANE FROM SAO TOME REPORTEDLY FLEW THE EVENING OF MAY 20.

2. (DETAINEES LIBERATED). BOTH (DAILY TIME) AND (MORNING POST) CARRIED LURID ACCOUNT OF MISTREATMENT OF EASTERN MINORITIES PEOPLE BY IBOS. SOURCE WAS REFUGEE FROM RIVERS STATE

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04605 222106Z

LIBERATED BY FEDERALS IN CAPTURE OF UMOAHIA. HE DESCRIBED REBEL DETENTION/WORK CAMPS WHERE HE SAID DETAINEES WERE BEATEN, SOMETIMES TO DEATH. HE ALSO SAID FOOD SITUATION WAS DIFFICULT AND PRICES FANTASTICALLY HIGH. SEVENTY-EIGHT PEOPLE WERE REPORTEDLY LIBERATED BY FEDERAL TROOPS AND ARE NOW BEING RESETTLED IN LAGOS AND PORT HARCOURT.

3. (CLEMENCY PLEA FOR SOYINKA.) (DAILY TIMES) CARRIED LETTER TO THE EDITOR SAYING IT "ABOUT TIME" THAT SOYINKA RELEASED FROM DETENTION. LETTER WRITER SAID HE DID NOT WISH TO GO INTO MERITS OF DETENTION BUT THOUGHT PERIOD OF DETENTION TO DATE WAS SUFFICIENT PUNISHMENT AND THAT BY RELEASE FMG WOULD ENHANCE ITS PRESTIGE.

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By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05



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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

SECRET  
NO FOREIGN DISSEM  
CONTROLLED DISSEM  
LIMDIS

*Intelligence*  
*Note* - 396

May 22, 1969

To : The Acting Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TLH*

Subject: Biafra May Be Planning a Full-Scale Offensive

The increased tempo of rebel attacks, particularly along the southern front, and the probability that Biafra is receiving larger quantities of munitions over its airborne supply line suggest that it may be opening a large-scale offensive to recapture one or more important Ibo towns and perhaps liberate a large chunk of territory as well. By attacking in force now, Biafra may hope to prove it is still able to push back the larger and better equipped Federal army, thereby shaking the confidence of the Federal Government and its supporters and creating more favorable conditions for a negotiated settlement. We believe, however, that Biafra has the strength to attack on only one front at a time.

Federal Forces Off-Balance. Now would be a good time for Biafra to strike. Federal Third Division forces on the southern front are disorganized, and their new commander--Colonel "Joe" Obasanjo--has not had time to stabilize this very fluid front. In the north, most of the Federal First Division is tied down protecting its over-extended lines of supply into the newly captured city of Umuahia. The Second Division--Nigeria's weakest front-line formation--is in no better shape. It has been forced to shift many of its units away from the main fighting front around Onitsha in order to contain increasingly strong Biafran raids across the Niger River into the Mid-Western state.

*Col 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

*Carded*  
This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

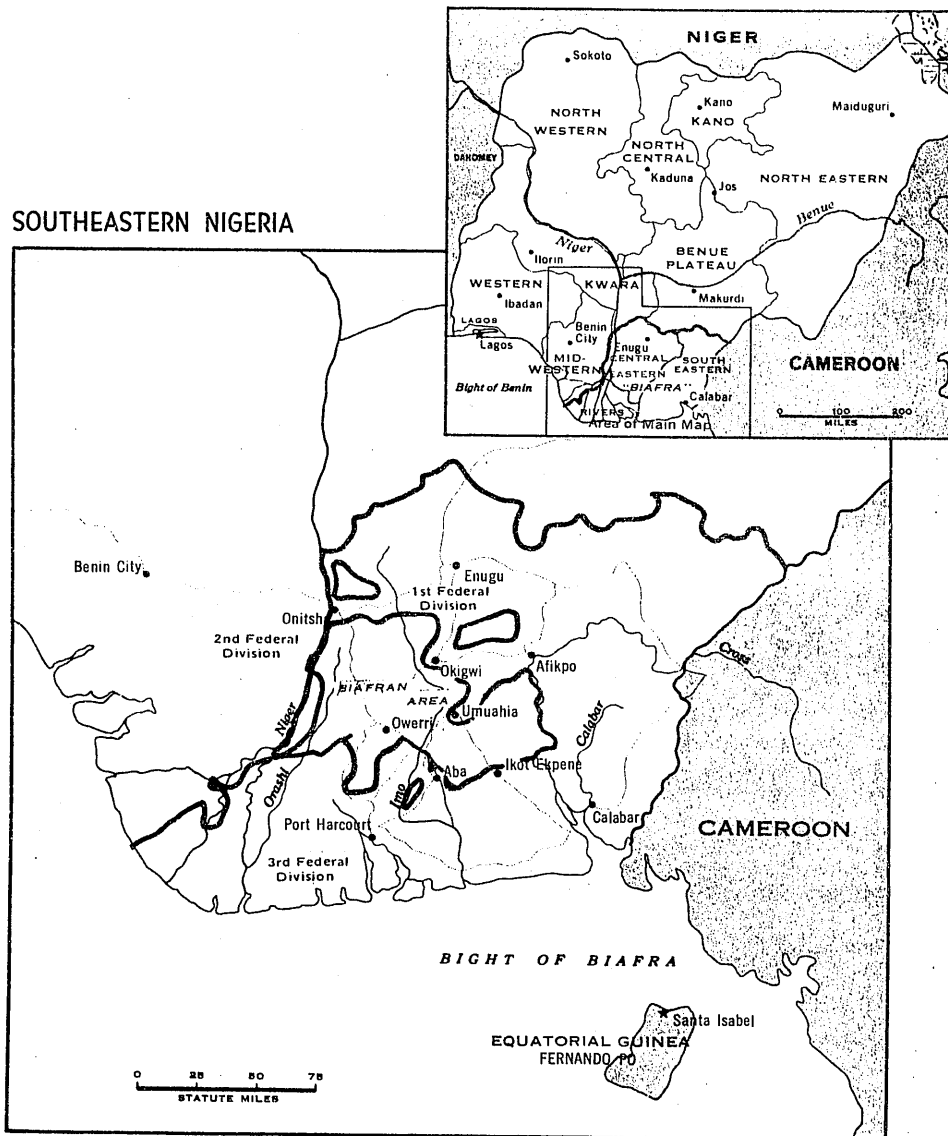
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NO FOREIGN DISSEM  
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GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MNA Date 10/5/05

# SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA



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 Authority VND 954503  
 By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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CONTROLLED DISSEM  
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- 2 -

Main Biafran Threat to the South. Rebel troops are within 25 miles of the Third Division's main supply base at Port Harcourt and threaten to cut supply lines to at least two brigades of the Third Division operating in the northwestern quarter of the Rivers State. Other Biafran units have moved into positions on three sides of Aba and could conceivably cut its communications with Port Harcourt, some 35 miles away. While we doubt that the Biafran army can capture Port Harcourt itself, it may attempt to invest the city. Cutting it off would force Federal troops to withdraw from large areas of the Rivers State and would sever the pipeline that carries much of Nigeria's petroleum production to the coast.

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. 70L 50-2

DATE: 5/21/69 MSG NO.: 4524 TYPE: TE

FROM: Lagos TO: State

SUBJECT: UKHICOMER Farewell Call on Newton

DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: ☒ OTHER: ☐

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

☒ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
☐ OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Xr POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Xr POL 27-7 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 12R

PAGE 01 COTONO 00547 211508Z

50  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, SSO 00, /071 W

059938

R 211400Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2122

SECRET COTONOU 547

LIMDIS

FOR FERGUSON FROM DAWSON

SUBJECT: RSM

1. SOME ARMS PLANES PROBABLY LANDING UGA, "NEW" AIRSTRIP NORTH OF ULI. THIS AIRSTRIP APPROXIMATELY SAME LENGTH ULI AND PROBABLY WIDENED ROAD AS IS ULI. NO ICRC AIRCRAFT LANDING THERE. ARMS FLIGHTS ULI RAN ABOUT FIVE PER NIGHT, BUT SOME WERE DC-4'S WITH 7 TON LOAD CAPACITY. (ABOVE FROM ICRC SOURCE)
2. ULI AND UGA BOMBED NIGHTS OF 19TH AND 20TH. BOMBING BECOMING MORE ACCURATE, NONE MORE THAN 100 METERS FROM STRIP. THERE WERE ALSO DAYLIGHT MIG ATTACKS ON UGA.
3. NIGHT OF MAY 20 FIRST WAVE DID NOT RETURN UNTIL 0130 LOCAL DUE HOLDING BECAUSE OF BOMBING ATTACK. THIS SO FAR OFF SCHEDULE THAT THREE FLIGHTS IMPOSSIBLE.
4. IN VERY HURRIED CURBSIDE CHAT WITH DAWSON ON 20TH LINDT (ICRC) SAID COOKEY (BIAFRA) EXPECTED TALK TO DAWSON ABOUT VENUE OF TALKS. LINDT DEPARTED FOR BIAFRA NIGHT OF 20TH TO TALK ABOUT CAPTURED AGIP PERSONNEL. RUMOR ABOUT AGIP PERSONNEL IS THAT 20 WERE CAPTURED AND 18 ARE STILL ALIVE. BIAFRANS TOLD LINDT SATURDAY THAT THEY WOULD MAKE AN ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT AGIP EMPLOYEES BY MONDAY, BUT NONE HAS BEEN MADE.

5. MILITARY SITUATION! APPEARS BIAFRANS APPROXIMATELY 20

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*Pol 27-14 Viet*  
*to Pol 15-1 US/Nixon*

CONFIDENTIAL 754

PAGE 01 ADDIS 02169 211146Z

44  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, EA 10, AID 28, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01,

RSR 01, 142 W

R 211102 MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9493

058479

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 2169

1. IN COURSE OF AUDIENCE WITH HIM MAY 21  
HE VOLUNTEERED EXPRESSION APPRECIATION AND ADMIRATION  
FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S STATEMENT ON VIETNAM WHICH HE  
HAD READ WITH INTEREST AND WHICH HE THOUGHT PROVIDED  
EXCELLENT BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT VIETNAM QUESTION.  
HE SAID HE WAS GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY PRESIDENTS  
UNSWERVING AND PERSISTENT EFFORTS REACH SETTLEMENT IN  
VIETNAM.

2. I TOOK OCCASION TO EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION  
FOR HIM'S CONTINUED EFFORT IN MONROVIA TO REACH  
NIGERIAN PEACE SETTLEMENT AND INQUIRED IF ANY NEW  
DEVELOPMENTS.

3. HIM SAID HE CONSIDERED IT HIS DUTY TO  
PERSEVERE IN NIGERIAN SETTLEMENT ALTHOUGH HE FOUND  
COLONEL OJUKWU INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH AND  
THAT HE SAW NO IMMEDIATE HOPE FOR SETTLEMENT IN NIGERIA.  
NEVERTHELESS, TWO MILLION DEATHS WHICH RESULTED FROM  
CIVIL WAR AND VITAL NECESSITY FOR NIGERIAN DEVELOPMENT OF A  
PERIOD OF PEACE WOULD SPUR HIM AND HIS COLLEAGUES IN OAU  
ON TO CONTINUED EFFORTS. HE EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION  
FOR SUPPORT NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAD GIVEN HIM AND  
TO THE MEMBERS OF CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE IN EFFORTS  
TO REACH NIGERIAN PEACE SETTLEMENT.

HALL

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*Addis Ababa*  
*2169*  
*5-21-69*

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 203

PAGE 01 COTONO 00542 201718Z

51  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

052529

R 201535Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2118

S E C R E T COTONOU 542

LIMDIS

NOFORN

FOR FERGUSON FROM DAWSON

SUBJECT: RSM - DAWSON THREE DAY TRIP TO BIAFRA

1. ARRIVED SUNDAY, MAY 11, LEFT WEDNESDAY MAY 14. DURING  
ENTIRE TIME STAYED WITH ICRC MOVEMENT CONTROL HQ.

2. FIRST DAY MAY 12. LEFT ICRC HQ COMPOUND WITH CHIEF MEDICAL  
ADVISOR EDVAL (PHONETIC). FIFTY MINUTE TRIP TO OVERRI, THEN TO  
OGUTU TO SICK BAY. VISITED THREE SICK BAYS THAT MORNING AND  
SAW FEW CASES OF VARIOUS FORMS ACUTE MALNUTRITION. MINOR CASES,  
HOWEVER, AND DISEASES, CHRONIC AND OTHERWISE, STEMMING IN PART  
FROM MALNUTRITION VERY MUCH IN EVIDENCE. WENT WITH MEMBER TEAM 8  
(ORLU PROVINCE) TO NEWLY OPENED FEEDING CENTERS. THESE FEED  
MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY AND PROVIDE MILK THE OTHER THREE  
DAYS. OBVIOUSLY GOOD ATTENDANCE AND ALTHOUGH WE ASKED SEE SEVEN  
DIFFERENT FEEDING CATEGORIES, INCLUDING KWASHIORKOR CHILDREN  
AND ADULTS, DAWSON DID NOT SEE MANY BAD CASES AT THESE LOCATIONS.

3. SECOND DAY, TRAVELED BY CAR WITH EDVAL AND JENNY TO EASTERN  
AREAS VISITING TEAMS 18 (WITH FATHER DOHENY) AND TEAM 7.  
ROUTE (APPROXIMATE) AS FOLLOWS: ORLU TO UDO TO NGURU THROUGH  
BUSH ACROSS IMO RIVER ON BAILEY BRIDGE THROUGH BUSH TO  
IKOT EKPENE - UMUAHIA (TAR) ROAD SOUTH THEN EAST ON BUSH ROADS  
TO AROCHUKO. TAR ROAD NORTH TO EBEM THEN WEST TO AZU ABENI  
(PHONETIC) AND FURTHER WEST TO WITHIN A COUPLE OF MILES BENDE TO  
LOOK AT REFUGEE CAMPS.

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Cotonou 542  
5-20-69

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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CONFIDENTIAL 524

PAGE 01 KADUNA 00485 201007Z

22  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28,

UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 153 W

049678

R 200905Z MAY 69  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1151  
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA

CONFIDENTIAL KADUNA 0485

REF: LAGOS 4074, KADUNA 432 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SOURCE (KADUNA 121) WHO IS EX-RAF PILOT IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH MERCENARY AND NIGERIAN MILITARY PILOTS IN KADUNA, INSISTS BOTH UK MERCENARY MIKE THOMSETT (KADUNA 293) AND NIGERIANS CLAIM THEY HAVE BEEN FIRED ON BY WHAT THEY IDENTIFIED AS MISSILES. ACCORDING SOURCE PILOTS HAVE DESCRIBED IN HIS PRESENCE INITIAL FIRING FLARE FROM PROJECTILES LEAVING WHAT THEY IDENTIFIED AS LAUNCHERS, SUBSEQUENT SMOKE TRAILS AND TRACKING TRAJECTORY OF PROJECTILES. FROM PILOTS' REPEATED DESCRIPTION OF BEING FIRED ON BY WHAT THEY REFER TO AS "HOT ONES", SOURCE CONCLUDES PROJECTILES COULD BE VISUALLY DIRECTED, TELEGUIDED MISSILES.

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STOKES

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By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

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5-20-69  
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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 914

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04472 201417Z

54  
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EURI 17, OPR 02, IO 13, AID 28, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SC 04,  
UPW 01, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00,  
NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 160 W  
051289

R 201145Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6664  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL IBADAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 4472

SUBJ: SECURITY SITUATION IN MIDWEST

1. UK HICOM HAS SENT FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO LONDON RE  
SECURITY IN WARRI AREA.

2. QUOTE. DHC BENIN SAYS: EXPATRIATES IN WARRI ARE NERVOUS.  
LARGELY THROUGH THE TALK OF ITALIAN AND GERMAN WIVES. THEY FEAR A  
LIGHTNING SWOOP BY REBELS BUT THERE ARE NO TACTICAL INDICATIONS  
OF THIS. YOU WILL SEE ALSO FROM MYTEL THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER  
THERE IS MUCH DANGER OF A REBEL ADVANCE WEST OF THE RIVER  
ASE. THERE ARE NO REPEAT NO BRITISH SUBUECTS BETWEEN THE ADE  
AND THE NIGER.

3. I HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED WHETHER THERE IS ANY ADVICE  
WE MIGHT GIVE TO BRITISH SUBUECTS IN THE AREA AND HAVE  
CONCLUDED THAT NOT MUCH CAN OR SHOULD BE SAID FOR THE MOMENT.  
I CONSIDER WE SHOULD WAIT TO SEE THE RESULTS OF 2 DIVISIONS  
OPERATIONS OVER THE NEXT FORTNIGHT. IF WE ADVISED BRITISH  
SUBUECTS THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO LEAVE AT  
SHORT NOTICE (WHICH IS VIRTUALLY ALL WE COULD SAY) THIS WOULD  
CERTAINLY LEAK AND COULD CAUSE PANIC, NOT ONLY AMONG EXPATRIATES  
BUT AMONG LOCALS ALSO. IN THIS CASE EXPATRIATES MIGHT SUFFER  
MORE AT HANDS OF EXCITED LOCAL POPULACE THAN FROM ANY BIAFRAN  
MARAUDING BAND. IT WOULD ALSO BE A SEVERE BLOW TO FEDERAL MORALE  
AND A BOOST TO THE REBELS. THE DHC'S VISIT TO WARRI WILL HAVE

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RE-ASSURED BRITISH SUBJECTS THAT WE ARE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE SITUATION. HE WILL ALSO BE VISITING OBIARIKU AND UMUTU SHORTLY TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION WITH THE AREA WARDENS THERE.

4. THE FOLLOWING CONTINGENCY ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN WARRI: (A) THERE IS USUALLY AN OCEAN FREIGHTER AT THE PORT. HOWEVER, TO ALLOW FOR OCCASIONS WHEN ONE MIGHT NOT BE THERE, A BARGE WITH WATER SUPPLIES ON BOARD, WHICH WILL TAKE A THOUSAND PEOPLE, HAS BEEN STATIONED AT THE PORT. (B) SHELL/BPB WORK BOATS ARE BROUGHT BACK EVERY NIGHT AND STOCKED WITH WATER ALSO.

IF CIRCUMSTANCES DEMAND A QUICK EVACUATION EITHER OF EXPATRIATE WOMEN AND CHILDREN ONLY OR OF ALL EXPATRIATES, THE PLAN IS THAT THEY WOULD BE TAKEN BY BARGE OR BOAT IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO BURUTU. THEY WOULD THEN EITHER RETURN TO WARRI OR GO ON TO LAGOS, DEPENDING ON HOW THE SITUATION DEVELOPED.

5. WE ARE OF COURSE LIAISING WITH SHELL/BPB BOTH HERE AND IN THE MIDWEST AND WITH OTHER MISSIONS CONCERNED IN LAGOS. GRAY HAS JUST RETURNED FROM THE AREA AND I AM SEEING HIM TOMORROW.

6. IF ASKED BY THE PRESS, WE ARE SAYING THAT WE ARE WATCHING THE SITUATION, THAT WE REMAIN IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES AND THAT DHC BENIN IS MAINTAINING CLOSE CONTACT WITH LEADING BRITISH CITIZENS. UNQUOTE.

7. WE ARE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH CONCLUSIONS IN FIRST TWO PARAS UKHC MESSAGE. SHELL-BPB DECIDED MAY 19 AS "HIGHLY PRECAUTIONARY MOVE" TO CEASE SOME LOW-PRIORITY OPERATIONS AND REMOVE PERSONNEL FROM AREA NEAREST AGIP CONCESSION RAIDED TEN DAYS AGO. HAS NO INTENTION TO SHUT DOWN MIDWESTERN PRODUCING OILFIELDS, SOME OF WHICH ONLY FEW MILES AWAY FROM AREA WHERE OPERATIONS SUSPENDED. COMPANY DOES NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE THERE ANY THREAT TO WARRI AT PRESENT.

8. EMBASSY RECENTLY UPDATED EEE PLANS FOR WARRI AREA AND DISCUSSED EVACUATION PROCEDURES WITH COMPANIES HAVING OPERATIONS THERE. AMERICAN COMPANIES, WHICH HAVE ABOUT 170 EMPLOYEES AND 30 DEPENDENTS IN WARRI, NOT SHOWING ANY ALARM ABOUT PRESENT SITUATION BUT OF COURSE ARE THINKING ABOUT POSSIBLE FUTURE NEED FOR EVACUATION AND SOME HAVE ASKED FOR OUR VIEWS. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE NO ONE HAS YET EVACUATED ANY

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*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 04472 201417Z

EMPLOYEES: ORI DEPENDENTS:  
GP-4 OLSON

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By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05



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Department of State

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 04403 171631Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,

SR 01, ORM 03, CU 04, ACDA 16, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /166 W

036857

R 171200Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6622  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEVBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEOBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 4403

USIA FOR IBS

1. ALL PAPERS  
REPORT MAY 17 TRANSFER OF COMMAND OF THIRD  
MARINE COMMANDOS  
FROM ADEKUNLE TO OBASANJO. TRANSFER TOOK  
PLACE IN LAGOS AT AIRPORT AS ADEKUNLE ARRIVED FROM PH AND  
OBASANJO TOOK SAME PLANE TO PH. ADEKUNLE  
TOLD PRESS HE  
ACCEPTING NEW ASSIGNMENT AS "CHALLENGE" AND DISCOUNTED  
SUGGESTION THAT HIS RECALL HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH LOSS OF  
OWERRI TO REBELS. SAID THERE WERE "FACTORS UNKNOWN TO  
PUBLIC" FOR HIS REASSIGNMENT  
BUT NIGERIANS "TOO FRACTIONAL"  
TO RECOGNIZE TRUTH AND ALSO HAD "NO SENCE OF OBJECTIVITY."  
(COMMENT: TO GET LAGOS ASSIGNMENT OFF TO GOOD START,

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04403 171631Z

ADEKUNLE HAD ONE OF SENIOR TIMES PHOTOGRAPHERS ARRESTED ON THE SPOT STATING THAT "YOU HAVE SOME QUESTIONS TO ANSWER." CHANGE OF COMMAND OF SECOND DIVISION ALSO TOOK PLACE AS SCHEDULED MAY 17.

2. EKETCH CARRIES FIRST EDITORIAL COMMENT ON CHANGE OF MILITARY COMMANDERS TITLED "TOWARDS MILITARY EFFICIENCY." STATES THAT IT IS TO CREDIT OF NIGERIAN MILITARY THAT POLICY HAS BEEN TAILORED TO ENSURE "EVENTUAL RECONCILIATION NOT MADE UNATTAINABLE" AND IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY "TO MAKE HASTE ONLY SLOWLY." SAYS MILITARY HAS ALSO REALIZED IT DOES NOT MAKE SENSE MILITARILY TO ALWAYS HAVE SAME COMMANDERS AT FRONT AND SAME MEN AT REAR AND THEREFORE "WITH RECENT CHANGES IN LEADERSHIP AT WAR FRONTS, NIGERIA PROVING ONCE AGAIN THERE IS STILL RESERVOIR OF MEN WILLING AND PROUD TO UPHOLD INTEGRITY OF COUNTRY. THOSE WHO NOW TAKE OVER FROM ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSORS HAVE BEFORE THEM IMPRESSIVE RECORD THEY WOULD FIND DIFFICULT TO EQUAL OR SURPASS. EVEN THEN, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT PROVIDED THEY TAKE TO THEIR NEW ASSIGNMENTS SAME DEGREE OF DILIGENCE WHICH THEY DISPLAYED AT PREVIOUS POSTS, NEW COMMANDERS HAVE EVERY HOPE OF DELIVERING GOODS."

3. TRIBUNE REPORTS "REBEL CHIEF NEGOTIATOR" MBANEFO STATEMENT IN ACCRA BLAMING PROLONGING OF NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR ON "VESTED INTERESTS OF BIG POWERS."

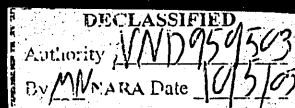
4. TRIBUNE ALSO REPORTS EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN NIGERIAN STUDENTS' UNION IN THE US AND DEPARTMENT ON US ROLE IN NIGERIAN CRISIS.

5. TIMES REPORTS ISSUANCE OF FIFTH INTERIM REPORT OF UN OBSERVER IN UMUAHIA. HOSPITAL REPORTED TO SHOW ONLY SLIGHT SMALL ARMS DAMAGE AND NO INDICATIONS OF BOMBING. POST OFFICE REPORTED VIRTUALLY UNDAMAGED.

6. POST, TIMES AND PILOT REPORT STATEMENTS OF COMMISSIONER EXTAFF ON RECEIVING NEW REP IN LAGOS OF ICRC, GOTTFRIED DE SMIT. POST AND PILOT REPORT COMMISSIONER TOLD DE SMIT THERE COULD BE NO CEASEFIRE "MERELY" TO SAVE EXPATRIATES AS HAD REPORTEDLY BEEN CALLED FOR BY ITALIAN GOVERNMENT. TIMES AND PILOT

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

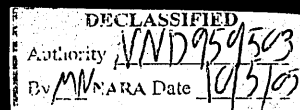
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PAGE 03 LAGOS 04403 171631Z

REPORT COMMISSIONER AS ALSO STAYING FMG FOLLOWING GENEVA CONVENTION ON CIVILIAN DETAINEES. STATED THAT THERE WERE TWO TYPES OF CIVILIAN DETAINEES IN NIGERIA, PERSONS WHO ASSISTED REBELS AND THOSE WHO COMMITTED OFFENCES AGAINST CRIMINAL CODE. HE SAID PLAYWRIGHT ROLE SOYINKA HAD BEEN DETAINED UNDER CRIMINAL CODE FOR COLLABORATION WITH REBEL REGIME. COMMISSIONER ADDED THAT SOYINKAS CASE WAS PERIODICALLY REVIEWED AND HE COULD HAVE BEEN RELEASED BY NOW IF HE HAD NOT MADE ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE. ALSO POINTED OUT THAT SOYINKAS PARENTS ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM OFTEN. MATHEWS

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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XL POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 694

PAGE 01 COTONO 00523 161128Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01,

SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, 152 W  
026906

P R 161045Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2103  
INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION: GENEVA

S E C R E T COTONOU 523

FOR FERGUSON FROM: DAWSON  
POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
SUBJECT: RSM - FERGUSON VISIT

1. DAWSON RETURNED FROM THREE-DAY TRIP TO BIAFRA WED NIGHT.
2. BIAFRAN MORALE HIGH, ALTHOUGH GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY DOWN SOMEWHAT DUE TO PRESENT DECENTRALIZATION. MILITARY MUCH MORE IN EVIDENCE THAN IN MARCH VISIT. A MORE DETAILED REPORT WILL FOLLOW.
3. ASSUME FERGUSON WILL STOP AT LEAST BRIEFLY AT COTONOU FOR MUTUAL BRIEFING DURING PRESENT VISIT. DO NOT THINK IT ADVISABLE FOR DAWSON TO TRAVEL TO LAGOS.
4. (REF: STATE 77317) APPARENTLY MEMBERS OF MOVEMENT CONTROL AT ULI WERE PRESENT DURING MIG ATTACK ON CRASHED C-97. TWO ROCKETS FIRED, ONE HIT, ONE MISS. PLANE BURNED ON GROUND. THIS NOT RPT NOT ICRC AIRCRAFT. OTHER C-97 ALSO CHURCH GROUP A/C WITH ONE ENGINE DOWN TOOK OFF FOLLOWING NIGHT. IT WAS NOT HIT DURING MIG ATTACK. DAWSON RECEIVED THIS INFO WHILE GUEST AT MOVEMENT CONTROL HQ AT ULI.

GP-3. KNOX

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Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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SECRET 923

PAGE 01 PARIS 07201 162343Z

83  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

031866

R 162236Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3824  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

S E I C R E T PARIS 7201

L I M D I S

SUBJECT: MAY 16 MEETING WITH DEBRE NIGERIA-BIAFRA

1. ON NIGERIA-BIAFRA DEBRE REITERATED TO ME TODAY FRENCH BELIEF THAT SITUATION GETTING WORSE AND WORSE, THAT INACTION BY WORLD POWERS WAS CREATING VACUUM WHICH SOVIETS CONTINUE TO EXPLOIT, AND THAT ACTION BY THE USA ON POLITICAL AS WELL AS HUMANITARIAN ISSUES IS DESIRABLE. NOTHING ELSE WILL BE ADEQUATE IN HIS JUDGEMENT BECAUSE ENGLAND IS TOTALLY ALLIED WITH LAGOS, FRANCE CAN DO LITTLE OR NOTHING BECAUSE IT IS ALONE IN ITS POSITION, AND AFRICAN NATIONS BY THEMSELVES CANNOT BRING RESOLUTION TO MILITARY OR POLITICAL PROBLEMS. HE PROPOSED NOTHING SPECIFIC AND SAID HE ONLY WISHED TO REITERATE FRENCH BELIEF THAT NEW ACTION WAS NECESSARY AND THAT USA WAS THE COUNTRY TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE. I RECALLED OUR EFFORTS PRIOR TO MONROVIA CONFERENCE AND OUR SUGGESTION TO PRESIDENT TUBMAN. I POINTED OUT THAT TUBMAN HOPED TO BE IN LAGOS THIS WEEK TO TEST REACTION OF GOWON GOVERNMENT TO POSSIBLE TALKS WITH BIAFRANS BASED ON NO PRECONDITIONS AND I ASKED IF FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD ASK HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY TO FIND OUT IF BIAFRANS WOULD BE WILLING TO ENTER SUCH DISCUSSION WITH FMG UNDER ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT BY HOUPHOUT-BOIGNY AND TUBMAN. HE SAID YES TO THIS SUGGESTION, ADDING THAT HE WOULD URGE HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY TO COOPERATE WITH AND HELP TUBMAN IF TUBMAN GOT AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE FROM LAGOS. BUT HE SAID LAGOS COULD NOT EXPECT BIAFRANS TO PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE IF REQUIRED TO AGREE IN ADVANCE TO PRINCIPLE OF "UNIFIED NIGERIA". HE ALSO OBSERVED MONROVIAN

SECRET

41

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 954503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05





*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 07201 162343Z

EFFORT DOMMED BEFORE IT BEGAN BECAUSE NO COUNTRY FRIENDLY TO  
BIAFRA WAS MEMBER OF OAU COMMITTEE.

SHRIVER

SECRET

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 95/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

POST

SERIAL

Paris  
7201

Screened

(Time Received)

1230 16 PM 9 02

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

S/S-S  
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S/S-O DIR  
MilRep  
Digest  
Task Force

Principals and  
"S" Area

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Geographic

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EUR 10  
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

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AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

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2/10/69

0864

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959/503  
By MVA NARA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

66-16-69  
4/374

UNCLASSIFIED 738

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04374 170825Z

18  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, NEA 13, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,  
LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,  
SR 01, ORM 09, RSR 01, /154 W

034822

R 161542Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6602  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
USINT CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 4374

USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP MAY 16.

1. POST AND TIMES REPORT FMG PRESS RELEASE THAT FIRST  
DIVISION TROOPS HAVE LINKED UP ON ROAD CONNECTING  
UMUAHIA TO BENDE.

2. TIMES AND PILOT REPORT GENERAL GOWONS INTERVIEW BY  
UAR JOURNALIST FROM AL AHRAH MAY 15. TIMES REPORTS  
GOWON STATED CIVILIAN RULE WILL NOT BE RESTORED UNTIL  
AFTER SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF CIVIL WAR, ADDING THAT  
RESUMPTION OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BEFORE THEN WOULD  
PLACE NIGERIA IN POSITION WHERE SHE WOULD BE ENGAGED IN  
"QTE MILITARY AND IDEOLOGICAL WAR AT SAME TIME UNQTE" BOTH PAPERS

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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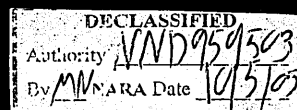
PAGE 02 LAGOS 04374 170825Z

REPORT GOWON STATEMENTS THAT NEVER BEFORE IN HISTORY OF NIGERIA HAS TRIBALISM BEEN RELEGATED TO BACKGROUND AS IT IS TODAY. EXPRESSED HIS DELIGHT THAT PEOPLE NOW THOUGHT OF THEMSELVES AS NIGERIANS AND NOT HAUSA, IBOS, YORUBAS, EFIKS, EDOS OR SOME OTHER GROUP. ON WAR, GOWON RESTATED ASSURANCES THAT FMG WOULD STOP FIGHTING QTE VERY MOMENT UNQTE. REBELS GAVE UP SECESSION, BUT IF REBELLION CONTINUES, FMG LEFT QTE NO ALTERNATIVE THAN TO PROSECUTE WAR TO LOGICAL AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION UNQTE. ON QUESTION OF FMGS WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH REBELS, GENERAL GOWON STATED QTE WE ARE STILL LEAVING DOOR WIDE OPEN FOR REBELS TO NEGOTIATE UNQTE.

MATHEWS

UNCLASSIFIED  
2

0866



DEPT. DISTRIBUTION ORIGIN/ACTION				DEPARTMENT OF STATE		FILE DESIGNATION	
AF-5				AIRGRAM		Soc. 12 Nigeria	
RS/R 1	REP 1	AF	ARA	Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">           AR Col 27 Barfu A-75 Nigeria         </div>	
EUR	FE	NEA	CU	UNCLASSIFIED			
INR 5	E	P 2	IC 5	HANDLING INDICATOR			
L 3	FBO	AID 20		TO : Department of State			
	S/A 1	S/PM 1	S/PM 1	INFO : KADUNA, LAGOS			
AGR	COM 3	FRB	INT	FROM : Amconsul IBADAN		DATE: May 15, 1969	
LAB 6	TAR	TR	XMB	SUBJECT : Distribution of Major Religions among Nigerian Population			
AIR 5	ARMY 3	NAVY 5	OSO 34	REF :			
USIA 10	NSA 3	CIA 20		<p>1. Church leaders in Federal Nigeria have for some time been concerned over the impression created outside Nigeria, in part by "Biairan" propaganda, that the Nigerian civil war is a religious war, with the Federal side considered predominantly Moslem and the "Biairan" side predominantly Christian. While the three Eastern states are the most heavily Christianized in the country and have a negligible number of Moslems, and the remainder of the country has considerably more Moslems than Christians, the distribution of religions is more complicated than is generally known. Moreover, with Christians and Moslems both supporting the Federal side, it seems evident that religion has not been the dominant factor in the war.</p> <p>2. Recently representatives of the major Christian churches in Nigeria prepared some statistics on the numbers of Christians, Moslems and other faiths (mostly traditional) on a state-by-state basis. The principal source of these statistics is the Nigerian census of 1963. Even if they are not exactly correct, the proportional distribution by religion is probably fairly accurate. This statistical analysis (copy attached as enclosure number 1) was provided to the Consulate by the Catholic Bishop of Ibadan, Bishop Richard Finn (Irish).</p> <p>3. These figures show that the population of Nigeria is 47 per cent Moslem, 34.5 per cent Christian and 18.3 per cent "other." Generally speaking, the northern states are predominantly Moslem,</p> <p>atr. Enclosure: Analysis of Nigerian Population by type of Religion</p>			
SUGGESTED DISTRIBUTION							
POST ROUTING							
TO:	Action	Info.	Initials				
AMB/PO							
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Date:							
Initials:							
Drafted by: <u>CC Strong:gor</u>							
Drafting Date: <u>5/14/69</u>		Phone No.:					
Contents and Classification Approved by: <u>CC Strong</u>							
Clearances:							

0867

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: VND 959503

By: MV NARA Date: 10/5/05



# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

*POL 27-9 BIAFRA-  
077317  
NIGERIA*  
*33*  
CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

15 MAY 69 21 12

FOR OCIT USE ONLY

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy COTONOU PRIORITY  
" LAGOS "  
USMission GENEVA "

Info:

Subj: Strafing of C-97 at Uli

Ref: Cotonou 496 - *POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

1. Reftel report of strafing and rocketing of C-97 at Uli on day following its crash not rpt not yet substantiated by other concrete evidence. Was Leir of Balair eyewitness to incident? Would appreciate verification and further info if possible.
2. Lagos should check UK HICOM (or other sources) for any additional info on incident.
3. FOR GENEVA: Does ICRC accept strafing as fact?

RICHARDSON

4

Drafted by:

AF/W:RPSmith:ba 5/15/69

Tel. Ext.

6402

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF/W - Roy M. Melbourne

Clearances:

AF/CW-Mr. Nadelman (sub)

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

0868

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

By

DATE

VND 954503  
10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

RM/R	REP	AF
1		
ARA	EUR	FE
NEA	CU	INR
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AGR	COM	FRB
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TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
		NSC
		6

PASS-5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

POL 23 CAM

POL 27 BIAFRA NIGER

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A-95  
NO.

CONFIDENTIAL

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

DEPT PASS: BANGUI, DOUALA, FORT LAMY, LAGOS, LIBREVILLE

FROM : Amembassy YAOUNDE

DATE: May 15, 1969

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation with Nigerian Ambassador

REF :

Enclosed is a memorandum describing my conversation with Nigerian Ambassador Bello Malabu during my recent farewell call. The topics are the internal security situation in Cameroon and the Nigerian civil war. Ambassador Malabu's credentials as an observer of the Cameroonian scene include his ten years here as Ambassador, and the very intimate relationship between him and President Ahidjo, a relationship springing in part from the fact that as Fulani from the neighboring cities of Yola and Garoua they share a common heritage and many common attitudes.

RL  
PAYTON

Attachment:  
Memorandum of Conversation

GROUP 3

Downgraded at 12-year intervals,  
not automatically declassified.

CONFIDENTIAL

FORM  
4-62 DS-323

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY

☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:

AMBASSADOR:RLPayton/ECON:JKBishop:grs

Contents and Classification Approved by:

AMB:RLPayton

Clearances:

5/13/69

0869

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: VND 954503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

CONFIDENTIAL 992

*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

PAGE 01 ADDIS 02071 141411Z

50  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, RSR 01, /079 W  
-----011994

P 141305Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
SECSTATE WASHDC 9433

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA (2071)

USIAC

DEPT STATE FOR AF

FOR VOA COVERAGE EDITOR FROM KELLY

1. HAD HOUR-LONG MEETING WITH OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI WEDNESDAY IN WHICH HE APOLOGIZED FOR HAVING TO STAY OFF THE RECORD. HE SAID EVENTS SINCE OUR LAST MEETING IN MONROVIA MADE IT NOW IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO GRANT VOA INTERVIEW PROMISED FOR ADDIS ABABA. HE WAS PREPARED HOWEVER TO TALK FOR ATTRIBUTION TO QUOTE SOURCES CLOSE TO OAU SECRETARIAT UNQUOTE. FOLLOWING INFO IS THEREFORE SUBMITTED FOR BACKGROUND, OR FOR ATTRIBUTION AS NOTED ABOVE.

2. TELLI ADMITTED SURPRISE AT ENAHORO STATEMENT ON PEACE TALKS WITH BIAFRA. HE WAS PLEASED TO HEAR THAT FMG HAD SINCE ISSUED A CORRECTION. HE SAID NIGERIA WOULD LOSE CONSIDERABLE AFRICAN SUPPORT IF FMG SEEM TO BE REJECTING POSSIBILITY OF A NON-MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR.

3. OAU SEC GEN SAID THAT NEW MEETING OF OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE UNLIKELY UNLESS NEW ELEMENTS INTRODUCED IN THE BARGAINING POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES. AT PRESENT, HE SAID, THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR AGREEMENT, BUT SHOULD THE SITUATION CHANGE, A MEETING WOULD BE CALLED AT SHORT NOTICE.

CONFIDENTIAL

*Cellie Okala - 2071  
5-14-69*

*(R)*

0870

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ADDIS 02071 141411Z

4. IN MEANTIME, HE SAID OUKWU'S SUGGESTION THAT EACH SIDE APPOINT AFRICAN NATIONS TO REPRESENT THEM IN A CONFERENCE CHAIRED BY ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR WAS IMPRACTICAL, EVEN IF FMG HAD AGREED TO IT. PROPOSAL CAME CLOSE, IN TELLI'S VIEW, TO ARBITRATION HAVING EFFECT OF CONFERRING EQUAL STATUS TO BOTH PARTIES. HE FELT THAT FMG WOULD WISH TO AVOID THIS SITUATION, AND --- IN ANY EVENT --- MEETING WOULD HAVE TO BE OUTSIDE THE OAU SINCE CURRENT MANDATE COULD NOT BE CHANGED UNTIL AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE MEET IN SEPTEMBER.

5. THUS, MOST THAT OAU COULD HOPE FOR, ONCE IT WAS CLEAR THAT NEW ELEMENTS EXISTED ON EITHER SIDE, WOULD BE A CEASE FIRE AND A START TOWARD MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS. TELLI DID NOT SEEM PARTICULARLY OPTIMISTIC REGARDING THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH A MEETING TAKING PLACE BEFORE SEPTEMBER. HOWEVER, HE DID FEEL THAT LACK OF SUCH A MEETING COULD ELEVATE THE IMPORTANCE OF WHOLE NIGERIAN QUESTION ONCE THE MATTER CAME BEFORE THE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE. HE SAID HE EXPECTED IT TO APPEAR AS AN AGENDA ITEM, AND THAT THE WHOLE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MANDATE MIGHT WELL BE CHANGED AT THE SEPTEMBER SUMMIT MEETING. HE WOULD NOT SPECULATE HOW, OR IN WHICH DIRECTION.

GP-3. ANSPACHER

CONFIDENTIAL  
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Authority	VND 954503
By	MNARA
Date	10/5/05

Rem



POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL: 570

PAGE 01 LIBREV 00482 160953Z

21

ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, ID 13, AID 28, SRI 01, ORMI 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JRM 04,

HI 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

UPW 01, UCF 05, RSRI 01, 153 WI

R 141440Z MAY 69

FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 2558

INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 482

FRENCH AMBASSADOR DELAUNEY (PLEASE PROTECT), WHO STATES:  
HE FOLLOWING BIAFRAN MILITARY SITUATION CLOSELY, TOLD ME:  
YESTERDAY 13TH BIAFRAN FORCES ONLY 15 KILOMETERS FROM  
PORT HARCOURT. WHILE HE DOES NOT BELIEVE BIAFRANS  
EQUIPPED TAKE PORT HARCOURT, THEY CAN CREATE SUBSTANTIAL  
PROBLEM FOR FEDERALS WITH MORTARS.

GP 3. BANE

Libreville 482  
5-14-69

CONFIDENTIAL

28

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

SECTION/ACTION

RM/R	REP	AF
1		
ARA	EUR	FE
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NEA	CU	INR
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L	FBO	AID
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USON	J/P	S/P
4		1
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
		5
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
PASS	LISTED	ALC
2		6

20

# AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

FOR RM USE ONLY

A-220

UNCLASSIFIED

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : ADDIS ABABA, ALGIERS, IBADAN, KADUNA, LONDON, OTTAWA, STATE  
STOCKHOLM, WARSAW  
DEPT PASS: USMISSION GENEVA, OSD (FOR CINCSTRIKE)

RECEIVED

MAY 17 8 55 AM 1969

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS DATE: MAY 13 1969

SUBJECT : International Observers Team Report for Period  
March 7 - April 30, 1969  
REF : Lagos 3781

Attached is the full text of the report issued on May 9, 1969, by the  
team of International Observers from Canada, Poland, Sweden and the  
United Kingdom. Reftel gives a summary of the report.

MATHEWS

Attachment: all in  
Observer Team Report for  
March 7 - April 30, 1969

MAY 17 6 9 18

FORM 4-62 DS-323

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☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:

POL:EEERamsaur Jr:mjr

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Clearances:

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Authority VND 954/503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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Page 1 of 8  
Encl. No. 1  
A-220 from Lagos

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION - PRESS RELEASE

9. 5. 69

No. F. 496

OBSERVER TEAM REPORT FOR  
MARCH 7 - APRIL 30, 1969

To: The Federal Government of Nigeria

The Government of Canada

The Government of Poland

The Government of Sweden

The Government of the United Kingdom

Copies to: The Organisation of African Unity

The Office of the Representative of the Secretary-  
General of the United Nations

OBSERVER TEAM TO NIGERIA  
REPORT ON ACTIVITIES OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF  
CANADA, POLAND, SWEDEN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM  
DURING THE PERIOD 7 MARCH-30 APRIL, 1969

INTRODUCTION

1. This report gives an account of the activities of the Observers of Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom for the period 7 March - 30 April, 1969. A list of the members of the Observer Team, as of 30 April, 1969, is given at Annex A to this report.

2. Throughout the period covered by this report the Observers continued to visit each division in turn, whilst keeping a small group in Lagos available for urgent duties. They continued to visit States not part of the war affected areas but in which there had previously lived Ibo people in considerable numbers.

3. The Observers continued to visit troops in the forward areas, camps for displaced persons, hospitals, orphanages, food distribution centres and civil administrators. Members of the press accompanied the Team on some of their visits.

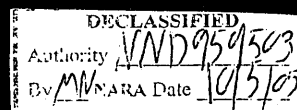
4. A list of visits made and Observers taking part in the visits is given at Annex B to this report.

FIRST NIGERIAN DIVISION

5. Two visits were made to 1 Division, the first covered the period 2-5 April inclusive and the second covered the period 22-25 April inclusive.

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Page 2 of 8  
Encl. No. 1  
A- 220 from Lagos

6. During the period 2-5 April visits were made to Enugu, Nsukka, Ogidi, Abagana, Abakaliki, Afikpo, Aka Eze, Obilagu, Awgu and Okigwi. Although the Federal Forces were engaged in operations South of Okigwi, attention was being given to the care of a large number of refugees arriving from the newly liberated areas.

7. The Observers noted that little progress has been made in the rehabilitation of displaced persons in the camps at Achi and Nnewi. The District Officer at Awgu stated that he was not yet able to provide seed yams and other items so urgently needed at this time of the year. There was no clear plan of how these items were to be procured and the Observers recommend that urgent priority be given to such matters.

8. The Observers visited the refugee camp at Aka Eze where approximately one thousand five hundred refugees were registered. On the recent visit the Observers were informed that the number had increased to five thousand. The Observers had detailed discussions with the Chief of the area and his principal advisors. There were many sick among the newly arrived and there was a shortage of medical supplies. A Red Cross team arrived during the Observers' visit and stores and food were being prepared for distribution.

9. The Officer commanding the Nigerian Air Force unit at Enugu was interviewed in connection with alleged bombings of civilians referred to in our last report. This matter is discussed in detail in paragraphs 28 and 29 of this report.

10. During the period 22-25 April the Observers returned to 1 Division in order to see conditions in the newly liberated areas at first hand.

11. Places visited included Afikpo, Oso, Owutu, Amachi, Umukpube, Bende, Ovim, Ahaba, Uzuakoli, Ngu and Umuahia. With the exception of Uzuakoli, Ngu, Umuahia civilians of Ibo and other origins moved freely about the towns and villages and appeared to be unconcerned by the presence of Federal armed forces. The Observers noted that only those civilians considered to be in danger because of their proximity to the battle areas were being evacuated. Civilians from the Bende area had, for this reason, been moved to Afikpo. The Observers interviewed civilian refugees at Afikpo and found some recent arrivals in urgent need of medical care. This fact was reported to the local commander and visits by ICRC medical and feeding teams were being arranged.

12. Damage to villages throughout the area appeared to be light. Damage to Umuahia was particularly light in comparison with other liberated towns, notwithstanding the allegations of heavy bombing attacks. In Umuahia the Observers toured the main streets, visiting the former headquarters of the secessionist army, a part of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital, and some public buildings. There were no bomb craters seen in the areas visited. The town appeared to have been systematically evacuated by the secessionists.

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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Encl. No. 1  
A-220 from Lagos

13. The Observers talked to a group of approximately seventy civilians who had remained behind when the secessionists withdrew from Umuahia. The civilians were mainly of Rivers State, South Eastern or Ibo origin. They expressed satisfaction at being in the hands of Federal troops.

14. Few prisoners of war were actually seen but local commanders reported that approximately seventy five had been evacuated to Enugu. Those seen by Observers said that they were being well treated by the Federal forces.

15. During their visits the Observers have found that the conduct of the Federal forces had been satisfactory. The troops of the Nigerian Army seen by the Observers were well disciplined and fully under the control of their commanders.

#### SECOND NIGERIAN DIVISION

16. Visits were made to Benin, Ogwashi-Uku, Asaba, Onitsha, Ogidi, Ibusa, Kwale and Warri during the period 10-13 March 1969.

17. The Observers visited the two camps for displaced persons in Asaba. They noted that many of the people in these camps are the people from the Rivers who were referred to in their last report. These people are being well cared for by the Federal forces and the Nigerian Red Cross. The food is provided by the local commander, and medical care is given by a Nigerian Red Cross team that has moved into the area since the last report.

18. The Observers were impressed by the rehabilitation efforts at Ibusa. Most of this town was destroyed during the prolonged fighting in the area and had been deserted by its population. When visited the town had between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants and about 300 a day were returning. Most of those returning were coming straight out of the bush with a smaller number from Asaba. Food, seed yam and tools were being provided by the Office of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation. Schools were operating and preparations were being made to plant crops. Medical care was available from the Red Cross team at Asaba. In the view of the Observers the rehabilitation work in this area can serve as a model.

19. The displaced persons kept at Warri and reported on in an earlier report have been screened and those requiring further investigation sent to Lagos and the remainder returned to their villages.

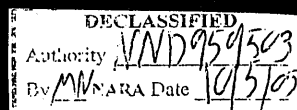
20. The road repairs being made on the route from Benin to Asaba will alleviate the transportation problems which are hampering relief efforts in the area.

#### THIRD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION

21. Visits were made to Calabar, Ikot Okpora, Oron, Uyo, Itu, Ikot Ekpene, Abak, Ikot Abasi Akpan, Azumine, Aba and Port Harcourt during the period 9-12 April 1969.

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Page 4 of 8  
Encl. No.  
A- 220 from Lagos

22. The Observers visited the refugee camps in Calabar and found that, probably due to limited resources, the people there were receiving only their basic needs. There were no complaints, but all those to whom we spoke were anxious to return to their homes at the earliest possible date. As refugee camp life saps the refugee's will for self-reliance, it is the opinion of the Observers that rehabilitation of refugees should be undertaken as early as possible.

23. Front line troop positions were visited in Ikot Okpora. It was noted that villages en route appeared to be operating normally. Those within six miles of Ikot Okpora were abandoned. The sector was particularly quiet.

24. Travelling along the road from Oron to Uyo the Observers also noted a marked improvement in the conditions of the inhabitants. Crops are planted, schools are in operation, and the civilian population appears to be well on its way to complete rehabilitation.

25. The Itu sector was also quiet. The troops and civilian population, as in other places, are working closely together to rehabilitate the area.

#### PRISONERS OF WAR

26. The Observers visited the new Prisoner of War camp being constructed in Lagos and which, it is hoped, will overcome many of the shortcomings previously reported. The Observers are keeping the Federal Military Government aware of their concern about this subject and hope to see the completion of the new facilities in the near future.

27. The observers visited the Armed Forces Hospital, Yaba, on 9 April. They saw two recently liberated Federal soldiers who showed obvious signs of having received bad treatment during their captivity by the secessionists. In their tours of Federal prisoner of war camps no cases were ever seen of such wanton neglect.

#### AIR OPERATIONS

28. The Observers are being given access to operational commanders at their bases. They have been able to examine the procedure for gathering intelligence prior to the selection of a target, the system of reconnaissance of a target before it is attacked, the briefings given to pilots for the attack and the system of post-attack reconnaissance.

29. The Observers have the impression that the operational orders given have had a restraining effect and have been followed by a decline in charges of attacks on civilian targets during the last three weeks covered by the report.

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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CIVIL AUTHORITIES

30. The Observers completed their visits to the State Governments during the period of this report. All twelve states have been toured and the Observers note with satisfaction the awareness of the serious problems resulting from hostilities.

31. The Observers commend particularly the efforts being made by the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Committee of the Mid-West State. The Committee's report for the period 1968-1969 makes many constructive suggestions. Of special significance to the Observers is the recommendation that "the displaced persons in the various camps should be allowed to mix freely with other Nigerians...to go out to do some job and earn a living." In this way, the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Committee feel the country will not be bled by spending huge sums on food and materials with no real plan for rehabilitation.

32. The Observers recommend that a continuous screening process be established in all States having refugee camps with a view to refugee re-settlement, consistent with their safety and security requirements.

SUMMARY

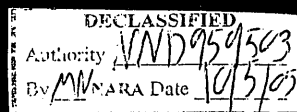
33. In summary, the Observers, representing Canada, Poland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, found during their visits from 7 March to 30 April, 1969:

- a. that troops of the Nigerian Army seen by the Observers are well disciplined and fully under the control of their commanders;
- b. that the Federal Military Forces continue to work closely with civilians engaged in rehabilitation work;
- c. that the Nigerian Air Force activities appear to be designed to support ground attack operations, or to destroy military targets;
- d. that there is an urgent requirement for the establishment of a screening process in all States having refugee camps, with a view to refugee re-settlement.

(SIGNED) Brigadier General C.J.A. Hamilton CANADA  
Major General A. Wahlgren SWEDEN  
Colonel Alfons Oikiewicz POLAND  
Colonel D. J. Cairns UNITED KINGDOM

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Encl. No. 1  
A- 220 from Lagos

ANNEX A

TO OBSERVER TEAM'S  
REPORT ON ACTIVITIES  
7 March - 30 April, 1969

LIST OF MEMBERS OF OBSERVER TEAM

(as of 30 April, 1969)

Canada

Brigadier General C.J.A. Hamilton  
Major G. R. Harper

Poland

Colonel A. Orkiewicz\*  
Mr. T. Kumanek  
Lieutenant M. Byczy

Sweden

Major General A. Wahlgren  
Major F.L.Z. Naastrom

United Kingdom

Colonel D. J. Cairns  
Major I. A. Walsworth-Bell

OTHER REPRESENTATIVES

Organisation of African Unity

Captain G. Yilma  
Mr. O. Lefgoum

United Nations

Dr. E. H. Jensen

\* EMBASSY NOTE: The Polish Observer's name is correctly spelled  
Olkievicz despite the two variants in this report.

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Authority	VND 954/503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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Encl. No. 1  
A-220 from Lagos

ANNEX B

TO OBSERVER TEAM'S  
REPORT ON ACTIVITIES  
7 March - 30 April, 1969

SUMMARY OF VISITS

1. FIRST NIGERIAN DIVISION

a. 2-5 April, 1969

ENUGU, NSUKKA, ABKALIKI, AFIKPO, OBILAGU, OKIGWI, AKA EZE, AWKA, ABAGANA AND OGIDI. Major-General Wahlgren, Colonel Cairns, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant-Colonel Pinnington, Major Naastrom, Major Walsworth-Bell and Mr. Kumanek. Accompanied by Captain Yilma (OAU) and Dr. Jensen (UN).

b. 22-25 April, 1969

ENUGU, AFIKPO, OSO, OWUTU, AMACHI, UMUKPUBE, BENDE, OVIM, AHABA, UZUAKOLI, NGU and UMUAHIA. Major-General Wahlgren, Brigadier-General Hamilton and Colonel Cairns. Accompanied by Captain Yilma (OAU) and Dr. Jensen (UN).

2. SECOND NIGERIAN DIVISION 10-13 MARCH, 1969

BENIN, ASABA, ONITSHA, KWALE, IBUSA AND WARRI. Major-General Raab, Brigadier-General Hamilton, Colonel Olkiewicz, Lieutenant-Colonel Pinnington, Major Tamm and Major Walsworth-Bell. Accompanied by Captain Yilma (OAU) and Dr. Jensen (UN).

3. THIRD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION 9-12 APRIL, 1969

CALABAR, IKOT OKPORA, ORON, UYO, ITAM, ITU, IKOT EKPENE, ABA, ABAK, IKOT ABASI AKPAN, AZUMINE, OBOHIA AND PORT HARCOURT. Major-General Wahlgren, Brigadier-General Hamilton, Colonel Olkiewicz and Major Walsworth-Bell. Accompanied by Captain Yilma (OAU) and Dr. Jensen (UN).

4. PRISONER OF WAR CAMP 17 April, 1969

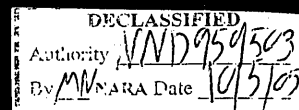
Major-General Wahlgren, Brigadier-General Hamilton, Colonel Cairns, Colonel Olkiewicz, Major Harper, Major Naastrom, Major Walsworth-Bell and Mr. Kumanek. Accompanied by Captain Yilma (OAU) and Dr. Jensen (UN).

5. KWARA STATE 17-18 March, 1969

IBADAN AND ILORIN. Major-General Raab, Brigadier-General Hamilton, Colonel Cairns, Lieutenant-Colonel Pinnington, Major Naastrom,

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Encl. No. 1  
A-220 from Lagos

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Major Walsworth-Bell, Lieutenant Byczy and Mr. Kumanek.  
Accompanied by Mr. Lefgoum (OAU) and Dr. Jensen (UN).

6. ARMED FORCES HOSPITAL, YABA, 9 April, 1969

Colonel Cairns, Lieutenant-Colonel Pinnington, Major Naastrom and  
Mr. Kumanek. Accompanied by Dr. Jensen (UN).

MATHEWS

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Authority VND959503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

SECRET 589

PAGE 01 LONDON 03703 121811Z

*for Pol 3 OAU*

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,

UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W

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R 121750Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 409  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USUN NY 1704

SECRET LONDON 3703

SUBJ: NIGERIA; BRITISH WANT FMG TO KEEP DOOR OPEN ON  
NEGOTIATIONS

REF: LONDON 3212

1. LONDON PRESS THIS MORNING (MAY 12) REPORTS FROM LAGOS  
STATEMENT BY CHIEF ENAHORO, NIGERIAN INFORMATION COMMISSIONER,  
"RULING OUT" POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE PEACE TALKS WITH BIAFRANS.  
ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS ENAHORO ASSERTED THAT MONROVIA  
CONCOM MEETING HAD BEEN LAST CHANCE FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND "THERE  
WAS NOT TIME FOR TALKING AGAIN WITH SECESSIONISTS."

2. WE ASKED FONOFF'S MOBERLY (WEST AFRICAN DEPT) WHETHER  
ENAHORO HAD TAKEN SAME POSITION WHEN HE SAW MAURICE FOLEY IN  
LONDON MAY 9 ENROUTE TO LAGOS. MOBERLY SAID THAT ON CONTRARY  
ENAHORO HAD INDICATED TO FOLEY THAT FMG WAS STILL WILLING TO DISCUSS  
PEACE SETTLEMENT WITH BIAFRANS WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS AS LONG  
AS CEASEFIRE NOT INVOLVED. ENAHORO HAD REAFFIRMED EARLIER PROMISE  
(REFTEL) THAT NIGERIANS WOULD GIVE BRITISH ADVANCE WARNING IF  
THEY INTENDED TO CHANGE THIS POSITION.

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*London - 3703  
5-12-69*

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Authority *VND959503*  
By *MM* NARA Date *10/5/05*



Department of State

**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 03703 121811Z

3. ACCORDING TO MOBERLY, FONOFF IS SENDING INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR DAVID HUNT IN LAGOS SUGGESTING THAT HE USE OCCASION OF HIS FAREWELL CALLS ON FMG LEADERS TO EXPRESS BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S CONCERN ABOUT ENAHORO'S REPORTED PRESS STATEMENT AND TO UNDERLINE IMPORTANCE BRITISH ATTACH TO FMG'S CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF NIGERIAN CONFLICT.  
ANNENBERG

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

62A  
12 MAY 69 23 11Z  
FOR OCIT USE ONLY

Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN NY  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - May 12

1. Wash Post reports from Lagos Nigerian Information Ministry quote of Chief Anthony Enahoro saying there no longer any possibility of future peace talks with Biafra. From Orlu Post reports Biafran defense spokesman claiming recapture junction town of Okpala, 25 miles southeast of Owerri, after week of heavy fighting, bringing push closer to strategic Port Harcourt.
2. NYTimes has Lagos piece by R.W.Apple headed Nigerian war lengthens - despite loss of initiative and changes in command, Lagos still likely victor. Few days after fall Umuahia Gowon proudly predicted rebellion will soon be over and Nigeria will return to era of peace. Fall Umuahia undoubtedly severe blow to Biafrans, but ebullience Gowon was not shared by most country's ranking officials. Soon became evident for one thing Biafran spirit not broken. Rebels evacuated city with considerable skill and without panic, managed quickly establish new administrative headquarters at Orlu. Furthermore Nigerian troops Owerri running out of supplies because two rickety DC-3's that had been supporting them could no longer

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Drafted by: AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 5/12/69 Tel. Ext. 2105 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/W - RMMelbourne  
Clearances:

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Authority VND959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Origin	ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS	
Info:	<p>get in air. Less than week after Umuahia, Biafran siege Owerri succeeded and Nigerian forces had to withdraw.</p> <p>3. Nigerian officer said this week: "Right there we lost psychological initiative again. In tactical sense we are now just about back to where we were last September." Biafrans still appear have means and morale to fight on. Despite reports Paris newspapers arms supplies from French curtailed, intelligence sources Lagos insist arms flights into Uli continue. Although two planes lost in past week, ICRC/JCA have improved airlift emergency rations. Most analysts continue believe airstrip is most important objective for Nigerian army. But fed troops have made no significant progress toward Uli in ten months. In fact Biafran capture Owerri has significantly lessened <del>XXXX</del> pressure on strip. Nigerian sources indicate next fed offensive will probably be aimed at Owerri. After that, sources suggest 1st and 2nd divisions may be called to drive toward Uli.</p> <p>4. But both these divisions already overextended. Second div has many units in Midwest state trying keep Biafrans from infiltrating west of Niger River. First div must now defend 88-mile-long communication line Enugu-Umuahia. Problem of supply will become far more difficult with coming heavy seasonal rains in about two weeks. Seems probable war entering another quiescent period while fed army</p>	
Drafted by:	Tel. Ext.	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:
Clearances:		

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Classification

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Authority VND 954503  
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Origin ACTION: Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

slowly builds up enough strength to move out of foxholes and onto offensive.  
In 1st div area at least combat units appear be digging in for long stay in  
their present position.

5. Despite headline, Apple piece does not mention command changes.

ACTING

RICHARDSON

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

Clearances:

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8-65 DS-322

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Authority VMD 950503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Origin ACTION: AmEmbassy, PARIS PRIORITY

Info INFO: AmEmbassy, LAGOS PRIORITY  
AmEmbassy, LONDON PRIORITY

SUBJ: Peaceful Settlement of Nigerian Conflict

REF: Paris 6831

Wash Post correspondent Tony Astrachan checked out same report contained reftel with Deptoffs this afternoon. Latter took line similar to that taken by Emboff with Loucheim.

Astrachan subsequently telephoned to say that Post intended publish original version of story as it felt sure of its facts.

E N D

(3)

ROGERS

Drafted by: AF/W:RPSmith:bg 5-9-69  
Clearance: 6402  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Ambassador Mocre

EUR/FBX - Mr. Tanguy (subst.)  
AF/P - Mr. Perkins (draft) AF/W - RMMelbourne

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Authority: VMD 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/3/03



Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 PARIS 06831 091830Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DUDE 00, JPM 04, H 02

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, IO 13, AID 28,

UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, ACDA 16, MC 02, RSR 01,

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O P 091810Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3640  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 6831

SUBJ: PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT FOR NIGERIAN CONFLICT

REF: STATE 69521: 70186: PARIS 5941

1. WASHPOST CORRESPONDENT DONALD LOUCHEIM CALLED EMBOFF EVENING MAY 9 TO INQUIRE ABOUT STORY WHICH WASH POST PICKED UP IN WASHINGTON ABOUT NEW UNITED STATES INITIATIVE RE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT NIGERIAN CONFLICT. STORY SAYS DEPT HAS INSTRUCTED EMBASSY PARIS TO SEEK FRENCH COOPERATION IN BRINGING TWO SIDES TOGETHER AND TO ASK FRENCH TO STOP SUPPLY OF ARMS. COMMENTS OF POST BUREAUS IN PARIS AND LONDON REQUESTED.

2. EMBOFF TOLD LOUCHEIM THAT STORY AS WRITTEN IS MISLEADING AND IF PRINTED COULD BE DAMAGING TO EFFORTS WORK WITH FRENCH FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION. IT IS TRUE THAT WE ARE TALKING WITH FRENCH ABOUT WHAT POSSIBILITIES EXIST FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO CONFLICT, BUT THIS IS NOT NEW. DISCUSSIONS ON THIS POINT HAVE TAKEN PLACE INTERMITTENTLY OVER PERIOD OF MONTHS AT VARIOUS LEVELS AND AT DIFFERENT PLACES BETWEEN OUR GOVT'S. IT IS NOT RPT NOT TRUE THAT WE ARE ASKING FRENCH TO STOP DOING SOMETHING WHICH THEY CLAIM OFFICIALLY THEY ARE NOT DOING: DELIVER ARMS TO BIAFRA.

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*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02: PARIS 06831 091830Z

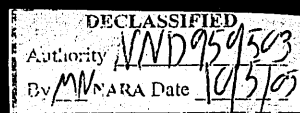
EM LOUCHEIM SAID HE WOULD UNDERTAKE HAVE WASH POST REWRITE STORY IN LIGHT OF EMBOFF'S COMMENTS BEFORE IT IS PUBLISHED.

4. EMBOFF INFORMED QUAI DIRECTORY FOR AFRICA (LEBEL) OF ABOVE. LEBEL SAID THAT LEAKS DO OCCUR AND THAT SO FAR AS FRENCH CONCERNED LINE TAKEN BY EMBASSY WITH LOUCHEIM COMPLETELY SATISFACTORY.

5. COMMENT: DEPT MAY WISH CHECK WITH WASH POST ON ANY ASPECTS OF STORY WHICH DO NOT CONCERN OUR CONTACTS WITH FRENCH. LOUCHEIM DID NOT DISCUSS THESE ASPECTS WITH US. GP-4 SHRIVER

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

*Intelligence  
Note*

-362

May 9, 1969

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TH*  
Subject: France: Post-de Gaulle Policy Toward Africa\*

We believe that a French Government headed by Georges Pompidou, currently the front runner to succeed de Gaulle, will not cast off the General's African policy but will, on the whole, eschew sharp cutbacks in aid and military presence.

De Gaulle more nearly achieved in Africa than anywhere else outside Europe his avowed intention of establishing France as a world power. France under de Gaulle supplied massive amounts of foreign aid to 17 of its former African dependencies, maintained a not insignificant military establishment in some of them, and wielded substantial influence in most of them. Thus, the continuation, or the curtailment, of French support can have a life-or-death effect on many regimes. Even in those Francophone states (especially in North Africa) that are less dependent than others on France, termination of French assistance would be a severe blow to their prospects for relatively orderly development.

General Prospects. French aid to Africa has been gradually declining for several years. This decline was stepped up by the May 1968 social dislocations in France and then by last fall's franc crisis. De Gaulle's successor will enter the Elysée at a time when further budgetary stringency

\* This analysis, the fourth of a series examining the policies of a Pompidou Government in a number of problem areas, is a more detailed review of one of the topics discussed in IN-348, "The Foreign Policy of the Post-de Gaulle Government," May 6, 1969 (Secret/No Foreign Dissem/Controlled Dissem).

SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM/CONTROLLED DISSEM

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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X R Col IS-1 FR  
X R Col AFR- FR  
X R AID (FR) AFR  
X R Col 27 Bldg- Miquis

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. P02 50-3

DATE: 5/9/69 MSG NO.: 2022 TYPE: TE

FROM: Addis Ababa TO: State

SUBJECT: British approach to HIM

DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: ☒ OTHER: ☐

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

☒ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

☐ OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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By	MVA
DATE	10/5/05

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

SECRET  
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CONTROLLED DISSEM

*Intelligence  
Note* - 360

May 9, 1969

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TM*

Subject: NIGERIA: Gowon Reshapes His Army Command

After repeated urgings by ranking civil servants and military officers, General Gowon has reluctantly fired two of his three front-line division commanders, and may be getting set to make other changes in the military heirarchy. The Federal Nigerian leader hopes that a few selected adjustments will enable his stalled forces to resume the offensive against besieged Biafra. He will continue to move cautiously, however, in order to avoid upsetting the delicate tribal balance in the Nigerian officer corps.

Adekunle Sacked. The removal of Colonel Benjamin Adekunle, the hot-headed and acquisitive commander of the Federal Third Division, comes as no surprise. The Colonel's insubordinate personality and his increasingly conspicuous corruption have earned him a host of enemies in Lagos. Moreover, his division has been stalled since October and has been slowly losing ground to the Biafrans since January. Pressures for his removal have been mounting for several months, but General Gowon resisted them partly out of loyalty to a fellow officer and partly because he feared a strong reaction from Adekunle's fellow Yoruba tribesmen. Finally, however, Gowon ~~the~~ soldier won out over Gowon the politician. It was the loss of Owerri by Adekunle's division two weeks ago that sealed the Colonel's fate.

*Col 27 Biafra-Nigeria*

*He Def 6-1 Nigeria  
Def 9 Nigeria*

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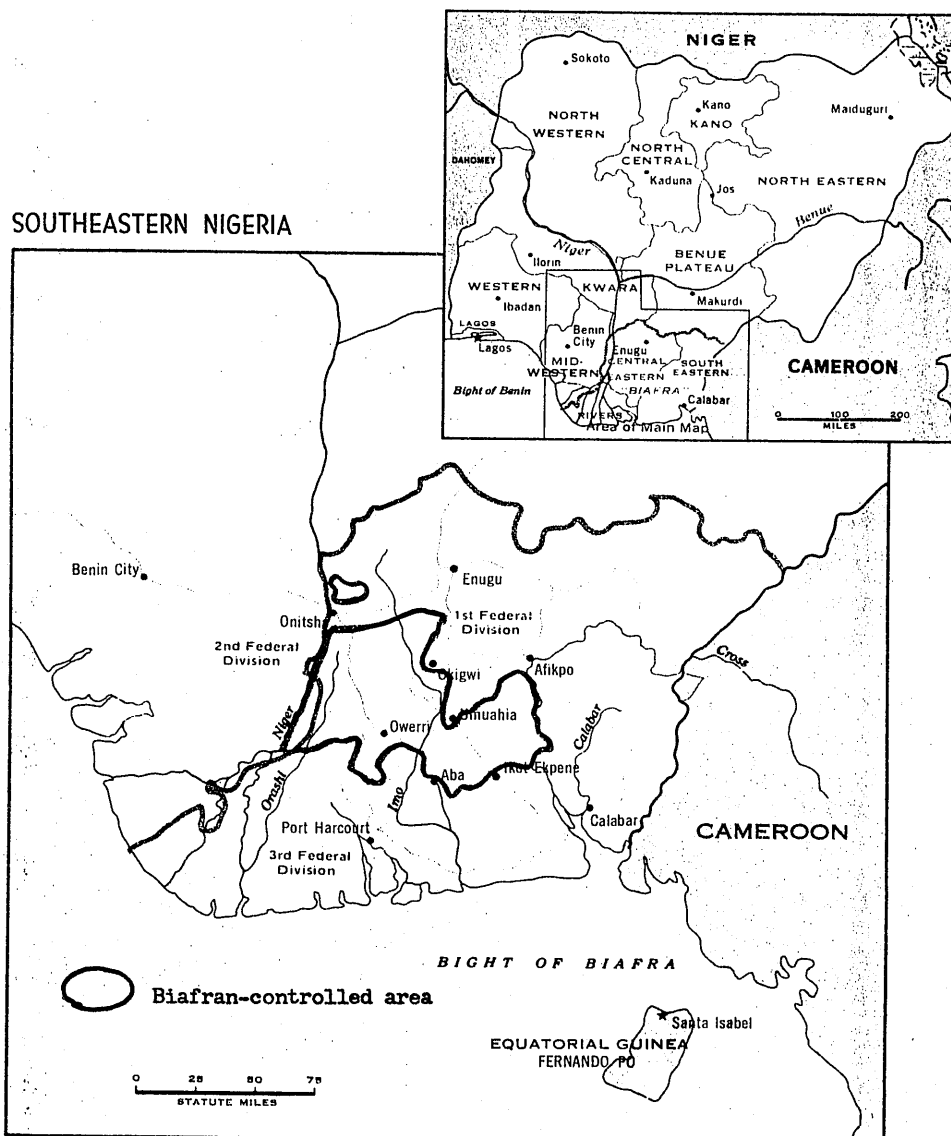
This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority *VND959503*  
By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*

# SOUTHEASTERN NIGERIA



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 Authority VMD 9503  
 By MVA Date 10/3/05

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- 2 -

So far, the Yoruba have taken the cashiering of their leading war hero in stride. Gowon has probably dampened criticism of the move by naming another Yoruba--the talented Colonel Olusegun "Joe" Osabanjo--to command the Third Division. The simultaneous removal of another unsuccessful division commander--Colonel Ibrahim Haruna, a northern tribesman (Kanuri) formerly leading the Second Division--also serves to take some of the sting out of Adekunle's dismissal. If no complications develop, Gowon may be emboldened to make other long-overdue changes in the army hierarchy. One of the first to go could be the corrupt and politically ambitious Governor of the Yoruba Western state, Brigadier Robert Adebayo.

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CONTROLLED DISSEM

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			7227 BIAFRA NIGERIA FOR RM USE ONLY		
AF-5			<b>AIRGRAM</b>					
RM/R	REP	AF	A-210 NO.			UNCLASSIFIED		
ARA	EUR	FE	TO : Department of State			HANDLING INDICATOR		
NEA	CU	INR	INFO : Rawalpindi, USUN New York					
E	P	IO						
L	FBO	AID	FROM : AmEmbassy Lagos			DATE: May 8, 1969		
		20	SUBJECT : New United Nations Representative to Nigeria					
AGR	COM	FRB	REF :					
INT	LAB	TAR						
TR	XMB	AIR						
ARMY	CIA	NAVY						
OSD	USIA	NSA	Following is the text of United Nations press release dated April 30 which was issued in Lagos:					
34	10	3	"United Nations Secretary-General U Thant on 28 April announced the appointment of Said-Uddin Khan as his Representative to Nigeria on humanitarian activities.					
		NSC 6	"Mr. Khan, who is expected in Lagos shortly, succeeds Nils-Goran Gussing, who has returned to his duties with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In addition to his responsibilities in regard to relief and humanitarian activities for the civilian victims of the hostilities, Mr. Khan will also serve as an observer to visit the war-affected areas in Nigeria, as requested by the Nigerian Government.					
			"Mr. Khan served previously with the United Nations as Commander of United Nations Security Force in West Irian in 1962-1963. He was a member of the Pakistan Army until 1964 when he retired with the rank of Brigadier. From 1964 to 1967 he was Professor of International Relations and Asian Studies at the New School for Social Research, New York; Visiting Professor of International Relations and International Administration at Claremont Graduate School and University Centre, Claremont, California; and Visiting Professor in Government and International Relations at the World Campus Afloat. He also participated as a guest speaker in Pacem in Terris II held in Geneva, 1967.					
			"Since 1967, Mr. Khan, who has a degree in Economics from the University of Agra, has served as a consultant to the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California."					
			Mr. Khan arrived in Lagos May 1.					
FORM 4-62 DS-323			UNCLASSIFIED			MATEWS		
						FOR DEPT. USE ONLY		
						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> In <input type="checkbox"/> Out		
Drafted by:			POL:FPicard:kr 5/8/69			Contents and Classification Approved by:		
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Clearances:								

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Authority: VV12954503  
By: M/MARA Date: 10/5/05



Doc 27 Biafra - Nigeria  
Department of State  
F80006-085-7  
**TELEGRAM**

SECRET 514

PAGE 01 PARIS 06694 081526Z

52  
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

105465

RI 081450Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3563  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

SECRET PARIS 6694

LIMDIS

SUBJ: FRENCH VIEWS ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. SUMMARY. EMBOFFI DISCUSSED NIGERIA/BIAFRA SITUATION AFTER NOON MAY 6 WITH QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA (GUEURY) AND MORNING MAY 7 WITH COUNSELOR NIGERIAN EMBASSY (OGUNSULIRE). FMG IMPRESSION OF TALKS MAY 2 BETWEEN ARIKPO AND DEBRE IS THAT WHILE CORE OF FRENCH POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED, IT IS BEGINNING SOFTEN AROUND EDGES. GUEURY GAVE IMPRESSION THAT FRENCH FAVOR IDEA OF TALKS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND BIAFRA WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS (INCLUDING CEASE FIRE) BUT WOULD NOT BE PREPARED PRESS BIAFRA ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS FAVORABLE AS FIRST STEP TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

2. OGUNSULIRE WHO ATTENDED MEETING BETWEEN ARIKPO AND DEBRE AS INTERPRETER TOLD EMBOFFI THAT DEBRE HAD, AS USUAL, DENIED THAT FRANCE SENDING ARMS TO BIAFRA AND SAID THAT FACT FRENCH ARMS BEING USED BY OJUKWU'S TROOPS AS WELL AS AMERICAN, BRITISH, AND OTHER ARMS DOES NOT MEAN FRENCH GOVERNMENT SUPPLYING THEM. GUEURY ALSO REITERATED STANDARD FRENCH LINE RE NECESSITY SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IBOS. HOWEVER, DEBRE HAD REFERRED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO IBOS AND MENTIONED BIAFRA ONLY ONCE. WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT MEANING SELF-DETERMINATION, HE TOLD ARIKPO FRANCE HAS NO SPECIAL CRITERIA, THAT IT IS INTERNAL MATTER FOR NIGERIANS TO RESOLVE, BUT THAT FRANCE HAS ANSWERED QUERIES ON THIS POINT FROM HOUPHOUET AND OTHERS BY SUGGESTING THAT ONE

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Department of State  
F800006-0858

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FEASIBLE FORMULA MIGHT BE SOME OF CONFEDERATION. ACCORDING TO OGUNSULIRE, DEBRE SOFTENED FRENCH POSITION ON RECOGNITION BIAFRA BY SAYING THAT FRANCE HAS NOT RECOGNIZED AND "HAS NO INTENTION RECOGNIZING BIAFRA IN ANY WAY".

3. CONCERNING MONROVIA MEETING OAU CONCOM, DEBRE TOLD ARIKPO FAILURE WAS INEVITABLE SINCE NO CHIEF OF STATE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE FROM COUNTRY HAVING RELATIONS WITH BIAFRA. ARIKPO REPLIED THAT OAU CONCOM SET UP ORIGINALLY WITH UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT OAU MEMBERS AND THAT IT COULD NOT CHANGE ITS COMPOSITION OR ITS TERMS OF REFERENCE WITHOUT REFERRING BACK TO OAU. PERHAPS APPROVAL COULD BE OBTAINED FROM OAU FOR SUCH REVISION SHOULD ONE OF THE STATES RECOGNIZING BIAFRA HAVE WORTHWHILE PROPOSAL TO MAKE. DEBRE THEN ARGUED WITH ARIKPO OVER MEANING OF PHRASE "UNITED NIGERIA" CLAIMING AS HAD HOUPHOUET IN APRIL 23 MEETING WITH AMB SHRIVER REPORTED PARIS 5941) THAT THIS MEANT TIGHT CONTROL OVER COUNTRY BY STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. OGUNSULIRE SAID THAT ARIKPO HAD FAILED CONVINCE DEBRE IN THIS SEMANTIC ARGUMENT AND THAT, AS RESULT, ARIKPO CONSIDERING WHAT FMG MIGHT DO TO REPHRASE FORMULA FOR SINGLE NIGERIA SO THAT FRANCE AND HOUPHOUET WOULD FIND IT MORE PALATABLE.

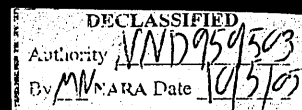
4. GUEURY TOLD EMBOFF IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION THAT ARIKPO VISIT HAD GIVEN FMG AND FRANCE OPPORTUNITY RESTATE TO ONE ANOTHER THEIR STANDARD POSITIONS BUT THAT NEITHER SIDE HAD PERSUADED THE OTHER. EMBOFF BRIEFED GUEURY ON OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAPPENED AT MONROVIA OAU CONCOM MEETING AND THEN ASKED WHAT FRENCH POSITION WOULD BE ON CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE BY BIAFRA OF PRINCIPLE SINGLE NIGERIA IF THIS MIGHT LEAD TO CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH OUUKWU WANTS. GUEURY REPLIED THAT QUAI OF OPINION THAT OUUKWU WILL NOT REPEAT NOT ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF SINGLE NIGERIA AS FIRST STEP TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. GUEURY THOUGHT IT PROBABLY THAT OUUKWU COULD BE PERSUADED AGREE TO TALKS WITH FMG WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS INCLUDING CEASEFIRE WHICH OUUKWU HAS HERETOFORE BEEN DEMANDING AS PRECONDITION. ONCE TALKS UNDERWAY, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FIND FORMULA FOR AGREEMENT ON KEY ISSUE OF POLITICAL FUTURE OF NIGERIA AND BIAFRA AND ON OTHER MATTERS SUCH AS CEASEFIRE. GUEURY SAID THAT HIS READING OF BIAFRAN FRAME OF MIND IS THAT THEY ARE GROWING TIRED OF FIGHTING ALTHOUGH UNWILLING STOP WITHOUT REASONABLE SETTLEMENT.

5. COMMENT: AMBASSADOR WILL RAISE QUESTION NIGERIA/BIAFRA

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*F800006-0857*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03: PARIS 06694 081526Z.

NEXT TIME HE SEES DEBRE. GIVEN WHAT APPEARS TO BE HIS STRONG  
COMMITMENT TO DEGAULLE'S FOREIGN POLICY DURING THIS INTER-  
REGNUM, WE THINK BEST APPROACH TO TAKE WITH DEBRE IS ALONG LINES  
PARA 2 OF STATE 70186. WE DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE THERE IS  
ANYTHING TO BE GAINED BY RAISING WITH HIM QUESTION OF FRENCH  
ARMS SUPPLY AT THIS TIME.  
GP-2. SHRIVER

SECRET

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By *MM* NARA Date *10/5/05*

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

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By MM NARA Date 10/5/03

DEPARTMENT OF STATE F800006-0856  
FOIA/PRIVACY STAFF  
FADRC/DR

REQUESTER'S NAME TREGSON-Robert  
CASE NUMBER 7902835

**DO NOT  
RELEASE**

**Attached Documents**

**Denied**

**In Full or in Part**

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Xc POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 150

PAGE 01 KADUNA 00432 081251Z

43  
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, AID 28, UPW 01, 158 W  
----- 104486

R 081045Z MAY 69  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1137  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L KADUNA 0432

REF: KADUNA 293 AND PREVIOUS

1. SOURCE (REFTEL) SAID MERCENARY MIKE THOMSETT HAD TOLD HIM MISSILES USED IN BIAFRA ANTI-AIRCRAFT DEFENSES WERE LINE OF SIGHT TYPE AND NOT INFRA RED EAT SEEKING MISSILES.

2. ON APRIL 28, 52 SUPPLY FLIGHTS ARRIVED AT JULI AIR STRIP. PLANES WERE UNLOADED AND DEPARTED 15 MINUTES AFTER ARRIVAL.

3. BRITISH AIRCRAFT MAINTENANCE FIRM AIR WORK LTD. WILL SOON BE REPLACED BY GERMAN FIRM DORNIER IN KADUNA ON CONTRACT WITH NAF. GPI 1.  
STOKES:

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Pol 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State

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PAGE 01 LIBREV 00470 081236Z

41  
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 02

JPM 04, HI 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20

USIA 12, RSR 01, 140 W

104429

R 081535Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2549  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 470

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN MILITARY SITUATION

IN COMMENTING ON MILITARY SITUATION BIAFRA, FRENCH MILITARY  
ATTACHE MERLE (PLEASE PROTECT), WHO FOLLOWING CLOSELY MILITARY  
SITUATION BIAFRA, TOLD US THIS MORNING THAT BIAFRANS PROGRESSING  
WELL IN THEIR DRIVE ON PORT HARCOURT. WHILE HE DID NOT THINK  
IT LIKELY BIAFRANS COULD RETAKE CITY HE DID FEEL BIAFRANS COULD  
ANNOY FEDERAL FORCES THERE CONSIDERABLY.

GP-3  
BANE

Libreville 470  
5-8-69

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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 342

PAGE 01 COTDNO 00486 081521Z

51  
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, IO 13, UPW 01, EUR 17, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01,  
AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, E 15, DOT 12, RSR 01, 179 W  
105480

P R 081408Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIDRITY 2074  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGDS  
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET COTDNOU 486

FOR FERGUSON FROM DAWSDN

SUBJECT: RSM

1. DURING LUNCH TODAY DYRSSEN SPOKE OF HIS JUST COMPLETED TRIP  
THROUGH BIAFRA. DISCUSSION INCLUDED THE INFORMATION IN PARAS  
2 - 5.

2. DC-6 CRASH APPARENT PILDIT ERRDR, "MISREADING DFI ALTIMETER".

3. C-97 FROM SAD TOME BELLY-LANDED ULI NIGHT MAY 7 SMASHING  
RUNWAY LIGHTS, CUTTING TOWER CDMMD AND BURNING ON RUNWAY. FURTHER  
MISHAP NARROWLY AVOIDED WHEN LANDING ICRC DC-6 SAW FLASHLIGHTS ON  
RUNWAY. CREW, PROBABLY AMCITS, REPORTED TO BE OK.

4. MIGS ATTACKED LAST NIGHT FOR FIRST TIME IN SEVERAL WEEKS.  
APPARENTLY DROPPED A FEW BDMRS.

5. SITUATION IN UMUAHIA: BIAFRANS HAVE TAKEN PART OF THE TOWN.  
DYRSSEN CONFIRMED THE CAPTURE OF BENDE AND SAYS THAT SECOND FED  
SUPPLY ROUTE HAS BEEN OVERRUN SEVERAL TIMES LATELY.

6. COMMENT: BELIEVE THAT SPATE OF ACCIDENTS, RETURN OF MIGS,  
LACK OF SPARE PARTS, APPROACHING BAD WEATHER AND GENERAL PILOT  
FATIGUE WILL CAUSE OVERALL DRASTIC EVEN IF SHORT TERM REDUCTION

SECRET  
25

(2)

Cotnam 486  
5-8-69

0903

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

32

ROBERT SCHASSEUR  
123, CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES  
PARIS, VIII\*

May  
Seventh  
1969.

8407

Mr. Nathaniel Samuels,  
1185 Park Avenue,  
New York, N.Y.,  
U.S.A.

My dear Nat :

Some ten days ago, I received a telephone call from President Houphouet-Boigny and had a long visit with him. He was in Paris and talked to me for over an hour about his efforts on behalf of Biafra. He told me he was responsible, and not General de Gaulle, for the support to Biafra. He further added that he preferred the French did not recognize Biafra so that the Biafra question would not become part of a French political involvement. He was anxious to see that the United States understood his efforts on behalf of Biafra as this was a case of definite communist threat of strong infiltration.

I saw him again last Thursday to learn that he had met in Switzerland with David Rockefeller, with whom he had discussed this whole matter. I know that David has been very outspoken and active in favor of Biafra.

President Houphouet-Boigny at the time had asked me to contact my friends in the United States and I have written to Bill Knox, who has been very active, as you know, on behalf of President Houphouet-Boigny.

President Houphouet-Boigny had offered to send his Minister of Foreign Affairs to discuss the matter in Washington, if invited to come. Naturally, President Houphouet-Boigny would come himself if an official invitation from President Nixon was received but, in the meantime, he felt that a visit from his Minister of Foreign Affairs would be most fruitful.

Now that General de Gaulle is out of the picture, the French-speaking African states will no doubt reconsider their policies. The U.S. influence we were successful

Signé:  
Robert Schasseur

Pol 15-1 IV CST

XR Pol 27 BIAFRA -  
NIGERIA  
XR Pol 16 BIAFRA

0904

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POL 7 BIAFRA  
XR SOC 12  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XPOL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AIO 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,

UCF 05, CIAE 00, OODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W

098290

R 071510Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6161  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ACCRA 1410

1. BIAFRAN CHIEF JUSTICE MBANEFO ARRIVED ACCRA MAY 6. TOLO PRESS HE HERE IN CAPACITY CHANCELLOR OF PROVINCE OF WEST AFRICA OF ANGLICAN CHURCH AND CHAIRMAN CHURCH'S HOUSE OF LAITY TO ATTEND PROVINCIAL SYNOD IN TAKORADI OPENING MAY 7. ACCOMPANIES BY BISHOP AFONYA. THREE OTHER BIAFRAN BISHOPS EXPECTED ATTEND. SYNOD ARE BARA-HART, UZOOIKE AND NWANKITE.

2. MBANEFO REFUSED DISCUSS CIVIL WAR WITH PRESS.

3. ACCORDING TO LEADER OF LOCAL BIAFRAN COMMUNITY, MBANEFO WILL STAY UNTIL MAY 13 AND VISIT CONNECTED EXCLUSIVELY WITH CHURCH AFFAIRS. MCELHINEY

(4)

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 01971 071559Z

52 S  
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, TO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01, UCF 05,

AID 28, RSR 01, /093 W

098152

R 071515Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9361  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 1971

SUBJECT: BRITISH APPROACH TO IEG ON NIGERIA.

1. BRIT AMB BROMLEY INFORMED CHARGE THIS MORNING HE HAD RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON TO ASK FOR AUDIENCE WITH HIM. PURPOSE TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE UK ATTACHES TO CONTINUED CONCOM EFFORTS BRING TOGETHER PARTIES TO NIGERIA CONFLICT, TO OBTAIN HIM'S IMPRESSIONS MONROVIA MEETING AND TO ASCERTAIN HIM'S THINKING ON NEXT STEPS. (COPY OF INSTRUCTIONS PRESUMABLY AVAILABLE WASHINGTON. BROMLEY DID NOT OFFER COPY HERE).

2. CHARGE HAS REQUESTED MEETING WITH RECENTLY RETURNED FONMIN KETEMA. ALSO TO SEEK BRIEFING ON IEG PLANS AND PROSPECTS IN LIGHT RESULTS MONROVIA MEETING. WILL OF COURSE AVOID SUPPORT FOR UK CONCOM EMPHASIS IN LIGHT STATE 69521 AND SUBSEQUENT OF WHICH INITIATIVE ASSUME BRIT AWARE.

3. AS REPORTED BY VOA KETEMA TOLD ADDIS FOREIGN PRESS ASSOC TODAY LIMITED MANDATE OAU CONCOM DETERMINES WHAT AND HOW MUCH COMMITTEE CAN ACCOMPLISH. SAID CONCOM QTE CAN ONLY ADVISE . . . CANNOT DICTATE AND CANNOT MAKE DECISIONS UNQTE. REFERRING TO SUGGESTION COMMITTEE BE FORMED WITH HEADS OF STATE NOMINATED BY FMG AND BIAFRANS AND HEADED BY HIM. KETEMA TOLD PRESS NO SUCH PROPOSAL RECEIVED BY HIM OR OTHER MEMBERS CONCOM. KETEMA REITERATED CONCOM AND HIM

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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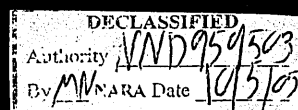
PAGE 02 ADDIS 01971 071559Z

WILL DO QTE ANYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRING TWO SIDES TO PEACEFUL  
SOLUTION WITHIN OAU MANDATE UNQTE. ASKED WHETHER THERE ANY  
MOVES BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER FOR FURTHER TALKS, KETEMA  
SAID DESPITE TALKS WITH PRES TUBMAN AFTER MONROVIA CONCOM, NO  
FURTHER MEETINGS HAVE RESULTED BUT EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE.

YOST

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POL 15-1 BIAFRA  
TRPOL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 03951 061428Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28,

SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 158 W

090005

R 061218Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6383  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
RUTAF  
/AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1756  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USUN NEW YORK 942  
CINCSTRIKE  
DIA  
STATE GRNC

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 3951

SUBJECT: OJUKWU SPEECH AT OWERRI

REF: LAGOS 3891; LAGOS 3889

1. WE UNDERSTAND FROM PRESS AGENCY SOURCES THAT OJUKWU  
DEPARTED FROM TEXT OF OWERRI SPEECH (LAGOS 3889) AS PUT  
OUT BY BIAFRAN PRESS SERVICE.

2. NOTHING APPARENTLY DELETED FROM ORIGINAL TEXT, AND MAJOR  
ADDITION WAS BIAFRAN DEMAND FOR CEASEFIRE, "OR FAILING  
THAT A TRUCE FOR A LIMITED PERIOD". OJUKWU SAID BIAFRAN  
DELEGATION AT MONROVIA SUGGESTED TWO-WEEK TRUCE.

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Department of State

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 MONROV 02072 061805Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28,

RSR 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01, /158 W  
091441

PI 061540Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6678  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

CONFIDENTIAL MONROVIA 2072

SUBJECT: AFTERMATH MONROVIA CONCOM MEETING

REF: STATE 069426

1. DURING CONVERSATION WITH TUBMAN TODAY I EXPLORED FURTHER  
QUESTIONS RAISED REFTEL. FOLLOWING INFORMATION KEYED TO  
QUESTIONS BY LETTERED SUB-PARAGRAPHS:

A. DIALLO TELLI'S ROLE WAS LARGELY THAT OF PERFORMING  
DUTIES OF SECRETARIAT INCLUDING DRAFTING COMMUNIQUE WHICH  
BIAFRANS DID NOT ACCEPT. HE DID TAKE LINE THAT ANY SOLUTION  
WOULD HAVE TO BE WITHIN CONTEXT OF MANDATE OF OAU.  
TUBMAN FELT THAT BIAFRANS WERE UNFAIR TO TELLI, THAT HE WAS  
IN FACT MORE MODERATE THAN SOME COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

B. MEETING BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRAN DELEGATES ATTENDED  
BY ONLY THREE BIAFRANS. MBANEFO HAD ASKED TO BE EXCUSED IN  
ORDER TRY CONTACT OJUKWU. TWO OF BIAFRANS WHEN INVITED BY  
TUBMAN TO SHAKE HANDS WITH MEMBERS FMG DELI DID SO, ONE  
REFUSED. THERE WAS NO CONVERSATION BETWEEN DELS, THEY SAT IN

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Monrovia, Tel. 2072  
5/6/69

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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DIFFERENT PLACES AND TUBMAN MOVED BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN GROUPS IN FUTILE EFFORT ESTABLISH COMMUNICATION.

C. MBANEFO APPARENTLY MADE REAL EFFORT TO REACH SOME AGREEMENT BUT WAS HELD BACK BY MOJEKWU. TUBMAN CONSIDERED HIM AND SEVERAL OTHER MEMBERS OF DEL AS BEING IN "MODERATE" CAMP.

D. UNABLE ELICIT ANY FURTHER INFORMATION THIS SUBJECT.

E. TUBMAN ATTRIBUTES FAILURE TO GET TWO SIDES TALKING WITHOUT CONDITION TO DECISION MAJORITY OF CONCOM NOT TO HAVE BOTH DELEGATIONS MEET SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH CONCOM. TUBMAN HAD PROPOSED SUCH A MEETING BUT WAS VOTED DOWN. HE STILL FEELS THAT HAD BOTH SIDES COME TOGETHER IN THIS WAY TALKS MIGHT HAVE STARTED WITHOUT CONDITIONS. SEPARATE MEETINGS ENCOURAGED FIRMER POSITION BY EACH SIDE IN TUBMAN'S JUDGMENT. BROWN

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0910

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, /158 W  
----- 089788.

P R 061200Z MAY 69

FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 011

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 0588

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

1. FOLLOWING THE OAU MONROVIA CONCOM CONF., DIORI TOLD ME HE FORESEES HOUPHOUET'S INFLUENCE ON OJUKWU AS LIKELY TO BE MORE DECISIVE THAN ANYTHING ELSE NOW APPARENT ON DIRECTION FURTHER MOVES TO END CONFLICT MAY TAKE, OR HOW THEY ARE TO BE PLAYED OUT. REGARDS RECENT EVENTS, OWERRI, UMUHIA AS PRESENTLY WITHOUT DECISIVE IMPACT FOR OUTCOME OF CONFLICT.

2. RE FURTHER OAU PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS, CONCOM REACHED DECISION MONROVIA AGAINST AFRICA-WIDE CONFERENCE NEAR FUTURE. DIORI SAYS APPROACH ADOPTED WHICH RESEMBLES INITIATIVES PROPOSED OCAM KINSHASA CONF, BUT WHICH NEVER GOT UNDERWAY. HIM AND MOBUTU FOCUSING ON EAST AFRICA AND SPECIFICALLY TOWARD TANZANIA.

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PAGE 02 NIAMEY 00588 061345Z

BONGO AND HOUPHOUET TO WORK ON OJUKWU. NIGER, IVORY COAST, GHANA, LIBERIA RESPONSIBLE FOR COMMON ACCORD WEST AFRICAN STATES. ASSUMES SOME STEP TOWARD ACCOMMODATION HAS TO COME FROM OJUKWU. DOES NOT HAVE TO MATCH GOWON, BUT MEANINGFUL GESTURE REQUIRED FOR ANY PROGRESS NEGOTIATED SOLUTION.

3. DIORI EXPRESSED EXASPERATION WITH BIAFRA REPS MONROVIA BUT FELT OPTIMISM THAT BIAFRA'S INTRACTABLENESS HAD NOT HARDENED GOWON. ALTERNATIVE YET OPEN TO NON-MILITARY SOLUTION TO CONFLICT. FMG DECISION AGAINST CAMPAIGN RIBBONS OR DECORATIONS FOR CIVIL WAR SERVICE SYMBOLIC OF YET HEALTHY ATTITUDES.

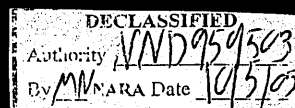
4. REFERRING TO CEASE-FIRE TEXT, WHICH FMG WILLINGLY ACCEPTED AT MONROVIA, DIORI OBSERVED BIAFRA REPS APPEARED UNABLE ACCEPT ANY LANGUAGE EVEN WHEN WIDEST POSSIBLE LATITUDES LEFT OPEN FOR SUBSEQUENT ACCOMMODATION, AS THOUGH THEY CAME TO CONFERENCE WITHOUT AUTHORITY NEGOTIATE. CITED INSTANCES WHEN SUGGESTED PHRASING, WHICH HE PERSONALLY PREPARED, OF CEASE-FIRE TEXT WAS WITHOUT MENTION OF "FMG" OR "BIAFRA" WITH PROBLEM STATED ONLY IN CONTEXT "OUR COUNTRY," BIAFRAN REPS COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY ACCOMMODATION SHORT OF SECESSION.

5. DIORI SEEMED OPTIMISTIC NEVERTHELESS HOUPHOUET COULD EXERCISE SUFFICIENT INFLUENCE ON OJUKWU. GOWON, HE FELT, HAD NOW GONE AS FAR AS HE COULD.  
ADAMS:

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pol 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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5 MAY 69 23 25Z

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Origin ACTION: Amembassy PARIS  
INFO : AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
Info: " LONDON

LIMDIS  
~~EXXDS~~

Subj: Nigerian Civil War

1. Failure of Monrovia ConCom conference again highlights growing dimensions of Nigerian tragedy and urgency of ending fratricidal struggle.  
~~2xxx With xxx making xxx formal~~ Recent Embtels have reported that at least some officials at Quai believe Biafran cause fundamentally hopeless, and De Gaulle's resignation has stimulated some speculation that French might now be more prepared to disengage. We certainly share view that prolongation of war can only result in further suffering for Nigerian population on both sides.

2. Without making formal demarche, and when suitable opportunity arises we hope you can with Debre, ~~xxx should~~ probe for latest GOF thinking. In doing so, you should inform him again of our concern at prolongation of war and stress fact that our interest is entirely humanitarian. We believe and recognize that France has continuing important role in Africa; and hope GOF shares our view that African development can best be enhanced by earliest termination of bloody and divisive conflict in Nigeria. We have noted recent <sup>FMG</sup> statements that lack of progress at Monrovia leaves ~~xxx~~ QTE no

Drafted by: AF/W:RPSmith:ba 5/2/69  
Tel. Ext. 6402  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: The Under Secretary

Clearances:

EUR/FBX-Mr. Tanguy AF-Mr. ~~xxxx~~ S/S- Mr. Brown  
U/CF - Mr. Ferguson ~~xxxx~~ U-Mr. Sieverts  
S/R - Amb. Martin ~~xxxx~~

SECRET LIMDIS  
Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0913

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Authority VND 959503  
By M/NARA Date 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Origin: ~~XXXXX~~ ACTION Page 2 - Amembassy PARIS

Info: \_\_\_\_\_

alternative to military solution UNQTE and are interested in French view of possibility of parties reaching negotiated settlement that we both prefer.

3. FYI - Since arms supply to Biafrans is one critical factor in getting them to agree to realistic negotiated settlement, we continue to hope that France might curtail or terminate its supply of arms to Biafra. We ofccourse recognize French sensitivity this su subject END FYI.

4. We also recognize that interim French Government will be loath and most unlikely to make significant departures from previous African policy (Paris 6408). Nevertheless, believe recent events, including De Gaulle resignation, failure of Monrovia conference and fall of Umuahia and Owerri warrant attempt to draw out Debre generally on current GOF views.

GP-1

[ROGERS]

END

Drafted by:	Tel. Ext.	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:
Clearances:		

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD 9503  
By: MVA Date: 10/3/05

46

RS/R file  
(Request Made)  
Direct

May 5, 1969

Dear Jack:

You asked me at the briefing on April 30 about Dr. Azikiwe's peace proposals for the Nigerian conflict. As you recall, Zik revealed them at Oxford in a speech, a copy of which I am enclosing. Although neither the Nigerians nor the Biafrans have pursued them further, I thought you would be interested in the details.

An essential feature of Zik's plan was for the United States to ask the United Nations Security Council to establish a "Committee of Nineteen States" to recommend, within seven days, how to bring about a cease-fire, arms embargo, plebiscite in the "war zones" and finally a settlement based on the wishes of the Eastern population. The nineteen states on the committee would consist of the permanent and non-permanent members of the Security Council, plus Gabon, Ivory Coast, Portugal and Tanzania. Of these nineteen, four support Nigeria, five Biafra, nine are neutral and one (Portugal), was "passively neutral," according to Azikiwe.

If a majority of the people wished independence, Biafra would be sponsored for membership in the United Nations by the nineteen states, and the United Nations would supervise the orderly transfer of territories. If the plebiscite decided against separate countries, the UN would assist in peaceably re-uniting Nigeria and helping with reconstruction, as well as guaranteeing the human rights and freedom of the "people concerned." The details of these proposals are set forth on pages 17 to 20 of the enclosed text.

In a statement of February 19, the text of which I am also enclosing, the Federal Government equated Zik's proposals with others put forward earlier by the Biafrans and regretted that they did not "improve the chances of achieving lasting peace in Nigeria."

The Honorable  
Jonathan B. Bingham,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C. 20515.

① AF/W: RJ WACH / RF SMITH: la 5/1/69

Pol 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

The Biafrans have not commented formally on them but have tended to brush them aside as not reflecting the views of the Biafran leadership.

I hope that this information is useful to you. If I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to ask.

Sincerely,

Joseph Palmer 2nd

Enclosures:

1. Dr. Azikiwe's Speech, February 16, 1969
2. FMG Press Release, February 18, 1969

Clearance: (sub)  
H-Mr. Leahy *RL*

*RL*  
AF/W:RJWach/RPSmith:ba 5/1/69

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

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PAGE 01 LONDON 03475 051814Z

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46:  
ACTION: AFI 18:

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, AID 28, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01,

ORM 03, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 158 W

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PI R 051719Z MAY 69  
FMI AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 253  
INFO: AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 03475

SUBJECT: MONROVIA CONCOM MEETING

REF: STATE 69426 AND 69521; LAGOS 3584; MONROVIA 1851

1. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING, BASED ON FMG AND BIAFRAN PUBLIC STATEMENTS AT TIME OF MONROVIA MEETING, THAT NIGERIAN DELEGATION DID EXPRESS WILLINGNESS TO TALK WITH BIAFRANS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. WHAT THEY DID NOT DO WAS AGREE TO CEASE-FIRE WITHOUT BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE OF "UNITED NIGERIA". FMG'S POSITION WAS MADE CLEAR BY DELEGATION LEADER OKUNNU IN PRESS STATEMENT APRIL 23 (3584) WHEN HE SAID FMG "READY TO TALK WITH REBELS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS BUT WE MUST AGREE ON ONE NIGERIA BEFORE CEASE-FIRE".

2. THIS OF COURSE HAS BEEN NIGERIAN POSITION FOR SOME TIME AND WAS PUBLICLY STATED BY AWOLowo AT COMMONWEALTH MEETING IN LONDON IN JANUARY AND BY GOWON DURING WILSON'S VISIT TO LAGOS IN MARCH. BIAFRAN POSITION, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, HAS BEEN THAT SUBSTANTIVE TALKS WITH FMG MUST BE PRECEDED BY CEASE-FIRE. BIAFRANS HAVE SOMETIMES PUT THIS ANOTHER WAY

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PAGE 02 LONDON 03475 051814Z

BY SAYING THEY WOULD TALK "UNCONDITIONALLY" IF FIRST ITEM ON AGENDA WAS CEASE-FIRE, BUT TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THEY HAVE NEVER SET ASIDE DEMAND FOR CEASE-FIRE. CERTAINLY THEIR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE IN MONROVIA SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN RELAXATION OF FMG'S MILITARY PRESSURE. MBANEFO'S PROFFERED DESIRE TO EXPLORE DEFINITION OF "UNITED NIGERIA" WAS WITHIN THIS CONTEXT. AS TUBMAN TOLD EMB MONROVIA, "WHAT (BIAFRANS) WANT IS TRUCE SO THAT THEY CAN TALK WITH FMG AND DISCUSS AND DEVELOP A STRUCTURE" (MONROVIA'S 1851).

3. THIS IS ALSO BRITISH UNDERSTANDING OF FMG AND NIGERIAN POSITIONS ON QUESTION OF DIRECT TALKS. IF WE ARE CORRECT, IT MEANS THAT TUBMAN OR ANY OTHER WOULD-BE MEDIATOR WILL EITHER (A) HAVE TO PERSUADE BIAFRANS TO TALK SUBSTANCE WITHOUT FMG'S PRIOR ACCEPTANCE OF TRUCE OR (B) PERSUADE FMG TO ACCEPT TRUCE WITHOUT BIAFRAN PRIOR ACCEPTANCE OF "UNITED NIGERIA", BEFORE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN.  
ANNENBERG

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



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Origin: ACTION: Amembassy MONROVIA PRIORITY  
INFO: Amembassy ACCRA  
Info: " ADDIS ABABA  
" KINSHASA  
" LAGOS  
" LONDON  
" NIAMEY  
" YAOUNDE

Subj: Aftermath Monrovia ConCom Meeting

Ref: (a) Monrovia 1851; (b) Lagos 3747

1. Your report contained reftel most appreciated. It would, however, be useful if we could have further information following details:

A. Precise nature Diallo Telli's role and why Biafrans took such negative view his efforts?

B. What transpired at reported meeting between FMG and Biafran delegations (re b)?

C. More info on role played by Mbanefo and whether Tubman regards him as being in QTE moderate UNQTE camp?

D. Why FMG, which has publicly stated willingness to engage in QTE talks/ UNQTE with Biafrans without pre-conditions, placed so much insistence on acceptance of term QTE United Nigeria? UNQTE

E. What efforts were made to get two sides talking without this condition and why they failed?

2. Dept would appreciate any light info posts can shed on above points.

Drafted by: AF/W:RWFaville/RFSmith:emb:ba 5/2/69 Tel. Ext. 7573 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Joseph Palmer 2nd

Clearances:

AF-Amb. Moore:

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FORM DS-322  
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By: MVA Date: 10/3/05



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TR POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 03889 01 OF 02 031906Z

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INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AIO 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CIAE 00,

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SS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01, UCF 05, RBR 01, 158 W

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INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USUN NEW YORK 939  
CINCSTRIKE  
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 3889

SUBJECT: OJUKWU SPEECH

C O R R E C T E O C O P Y (A00ITON SECTION INFO ONLY)

1. FOLLOWING ARE HIGH POINTS AND EXCERPTS FROM MAJOR ADDRESS BY BIAFRAN LEADER OJUKWU TO JOINT MEETING OF ELDERS, CHIEFS AND CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY. EXCERPTS TAKEN FROM BIAFRAN PRESS SERVICE REPORT OF 1001 GMT MAY 2 (FBIS PUERTO RICO ITEM 021245Z).

2. OJUKWU WELCOMED AUDIENCE TO OWERRI, EXPRESSED VIEW "LAST TWO WEEKS HAVE BEEN A MOST TRYING PERIOD IN OUR CURRENT STRUGGLE. PERHAPS THE MOST SERIOUS EVENT OF THAT PERIOD WAS THE ENEMY'S ENTRY INTO UMUHIA. WE HAVE FOR LONG BEEN AWARE

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By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 03891 031504Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CIAE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,

USIA 12, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, 158 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6346  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
ADDIS ABABA 1164  
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AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 3891

SUBJECT: OJUKWU SPEECH AT OWERRI

REF: LAGOS 3889

1. IN GENERAL, OJUKWU SPEECH WAS IMPASSIONED, LENGTHY RECITAL OF STANDARD BIAFRAN POLICY LINE ON ROLE OF BRITISH AND DEFENSE OF REBEL POSITION ON PEACE TALKS, AND EXHORTATION TO CONTINUE FIGHT. AS USUAL, OJUKWU SHOWED GOOD SENSE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS BY SPEAKING IN OWERRI, A DEVICE WELL CALCULATED BOOST HOME-FRONT MORALE.

2. NOTEWORTHY IN SPEECH WAS HARDEST HITTING ATTACKS YET FROM OJUKWU PERSONALLY ON BOTH OAU AND INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. OAU OPENLY CALLED "NOT CAPABLE AND NOT INTERESTED" SOLVING

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By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 03891 031504Z

NIGERIAN CRISIS, WITH SPECIAL SCORN FOR DIALLO TELLI WHO SAID BE "MORE PRO-NIGERIA THAN NIGERIANS". WHILE OJUKWU REPEATED WILLINGNESS HAVE FURTHER TALKS, PRESUMABLY UNDER OAU SUSPICES (AND ON HIS UNCHANGED TERMS) HIS ATTACKS SEEM CERTAIN TO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR OAU CONCOM, AT LEAST AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED, TO PERFORM USEFUL ROLE IN PEACEMAKING. HE HAS APPARENTLY WRITTEN OFF TELLI COMPLETELY.

3. REGARDING OJUKWU CLAIM THAT OAU PROPOSAL "IMPOSED CONDITION THAT OUR PEOPLE MUST ACCEPT NIGERIAN POSITION BY RENOUNCING SOVEREIGNTY," WE THINK THIS HIGHLY SPECIOUS REASONING. AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM IN CONTEXT OF "UNITED NIGERIA" DOES NOT RPT NOT NECESSARILY CONSTITUTE EXPLICIT AND UNQUALIFIED RENOUNCIATION OF REBEL CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY. IF BIAFRAN DELEGATION CHOSE TO INTERPRET THE COMMUNIQUE IN THAT FASHION, IT WOULD SEEM THEY HAVE TAKEN NARROWEST POSSIBLE MEANS OF CONSTRUING WHAT "UNIFIED" IN CONTEXT MEANS, AND HOW ACTUAL TALKS WOULD DEFINE IT. FMG MADE CONCESSION IN AGREEING SUBSTITUTE "UNITED" FOR "FEDERAL", AND THEY BELIEVE FURTHER DILUTION WOULD HAVE VIRTUALLY CONCEDED REBEL CLAIM TO EQUAL STATUS (AND SOVEREIGNTY) AT CONFERENCE TABLE. FMG UNWILLING MAKE SUCH VITAL CONCESSION, PARTICULARLY WITH FAVORABLE WAR NEWS OF DRIVES ON BENDE AND UMUAHIA.

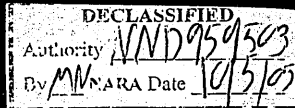
4. WHILE BIAFRANS HAVE ATTACKED OBSERVERS BEFORE, THIS BY FAR STRONGEST EFFORT DISCREDIT THEM. IT CONCEIVABLE OJUKWU NEAR UMUAHIA WHEN HE SAID HE WAS, BUT IT CERTAIN OBSERVERS WERE IN FACT IN UMUAHIA. WE HAVE TALKED AT LENGTH WITH OBSERVERS (MOST RECENTLY WAHLGREN AND HAMILTON) AND FIND IT MOST UNLIKELY BOMB DAMAGE COULD HAVE BEEN SO COMPLETELY CLEANED UP BY REBELS, AS OJUKWU CLAIMS, THAT EXPERIENCED OBSERVERS WOULD HAVE MISSED IT.

5. IN SUMMARY, WE THINK OJUKWU SPEECH WAS PROBABLY SUCCESSFUL IN CAPITALIZING QUICKLY ON OWERRI RECAPTURE TO REASSURE AND INSPIRE BELEAGUERED BIAFRANS, WHILE ATTACKS ON OAU AND OBSERVERS UNLIKELY CHANGE MINDS OF EITHER BIAFRAN OR FMG SUPPORTERS. THERE HINT OF SAGGING MORALE IN PASSAGES ABOUT FALL OF UMUAHIA AND NEED BE VIGILANT AGAINST SUBVERSION, BUT WE DETECT NO RPT NO INDICATIONS OF ANY "GIVE" ON MAJOR ISSUES. GP-3. MATHEWS

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0923



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. POL 50-4

DATE: 5/5/69 MSG NO.: 3878 TYPE: TE

FROM: Lagos TO: State

SUBJECT: Friction Among Senior Military Officers

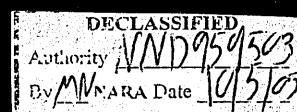
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EUR	E	P	IO	INFO : LAGOS, LONDON, PARIS			
5	FBO	AID		FROM : Amembassy ABIDJAN			
3				DATE: May 2, 1969			
AGR	COM	FRB	INT	SUBJECT : Ivory Coast Publishes Dike's Washington Press Conference			
LAB	TAR	TR	XMB	REF : State 65893; 63723			
AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSD	<p>On April 29, Abidjan's semi-official <u>Fraternité-Matin</u> began publication of the text of Kenneth DIKE's remarks made at the National Press Club in Washington on April 18. Subsequent installments have not yet appeared, but presumably will be forthcoming.</p> <p>According to <u>Fraternité-Matin</u>, Dike was introduced by Ivorian Ambassador Timothée AHOUA N'GUETTA, who described Dike as a devoted Biafran sent by the Biafran government to explain its case to the American people. Ahoua reportedly concluded by expressing satisfaction that men as qualified and concerned as Dr. Dike should explain to the world the truth about Biafra. Following the text of these introductory remarks, <u>Fraternité-Matin</u> said: "It is in these terms that ... Ahoua presented Dr. Dike before passing him the floor for a press conference held at the National Press Club, on Friday, April 18, 1969, in Washington."</p> <p>The article is illustrated with a photograph of Dr. Dike speaking at the Press Club, with Ambassador Ahoua sitting at his right.</p> <p><u>Comment:</u> If Ahoua did not actually introduce Dr. Dike (State 63723, paragraph 4), the Ivorian public is being misled.</p>			
USIA	NSA	CIA	34				
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Authority: VND 954503  
 By: MN NARA Date: 10/3/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 COTONOU 00459 021749Z

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ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, AF 12, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, IO 13, EUR 17, SCS 04, SCA 01,

ACDA 16, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00,

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FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2056

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E I C R E T COTONOU 459

FOR FERGUSON FROM DAWSON

SUBJECT: RSM - GENERAL AND MILITARY SITUATION BIAFRA

1. AMONG SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR THIS REPORT ARE AMB LINDT AND GENERAL BERG BOTH OF WHOM CAME OUT OF BIAFRA WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS, ICRC AND JCA PERSONNEL AT ULI, COTONOU AND SAO TOME, AND MR. OBI, BIAFRAN REP AT SAO TOME. THIS REPORT IS THEREFORE A SYNTHESIS.

2. OWERRI - TOWN CAPTURED SEVERAL DAYS AGO BY BIAFRANS. OBI'S REPORT SAID SOME ARMS CACHES HAD BEEN FOUND, UP TO AROUND ONE MILLION ROUNDS, MOSTLY FOR ARTILLERY, MORTARS, ETC. THIS, ASSUMING CONSIDERABLE FIRING AND AMMO DESTRUCTION PLUS SOME RESUPPLY TALLIES WITH THREE MILLION PLUS FIGURE HEARD AROUND END MARCH. ALL EVIDENCE POINTS:

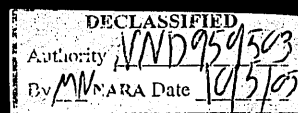
HASTY BUT ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL.

BIAFRANS CLAIM THEY OPENED FIVE-MILE DEEP HOLE IN THEIR OWN FLANK FOR NIGERIAN RETREAT AND PUT AN AMBUSH AT END. MOST GLASS IN BUILDINGS GONE, GENERAL POCK MARKING FROM SMALL ARMS FIRE, BUT ESSENTIALLY THE TOWN IS IN GOOD CONDITION.

3. WEST OF THE NIGER. RUMORS AND VOA REPORTING AN INCURSION INTO SEVERAL VILLAGES BY BIAFRANS AFTER THEY CROSSED RIVER. FROM WHAT IS KNOWN HERE IT DOES NOT SEEM PARTICULARLY EXTENSIVE OR IMPORTANT.

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PAGE 02 COTONO 00459 021749Z

RM UMUAHIA - LINDT REPORTS THAT A FEW DAYS AGO HE WAS WITHIN TWO MILES OF CITY AND HAD STILL NOT REACHED FRONT LINES. IT APPEARS THAT WHILE MOST OF UMUAHIA IS IN FEDERAL HANDS, FIGHTING IS STILL GOING ON AROUND AND WITHIN CITY ITSELF.

5. BENDE - IMPORTANT AS LEADING SUPPLY ROUTE TO FEDS IN UMUAHIA, TOWN IS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN RETAKEN BY BIAFRANS. THIS WAS APPARENTLY DONE FROM THE REAR BY PARTIALLY ENTRAPPED BIAFRAN P. SOLDIERS FROM THE CROSS RIVER AREA. THIS INFO FROM ONE SOURCE ONLY, NO ONE ELSE HAS MENTIONED IT.

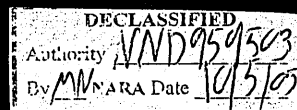
6. PORT HARCOURT - SEVERAL SOURCES INCLUDING LINDT HAVE MENTIONED A RENEWED PUSH TOWARD PORT HARCOURT. PRESUMABLY THESE COULD BE TROOPS RELEASED FROM THE OWERRI SIEGE.

7. SUMMARY - ALTHOUGH WITHDRAWAL FROM UMUAHIA TO ORLU AND THE BUSH HAD LEFT A GENERAL DISARRAY AS FAR AS GOVERNMENT SERVICES ARE CONCERNED, THINGS HAVE BEGUN TO STRAIGHTEN UP TO AN EVEN KEEL AGAIN. AS AN INDICATION, ONE EUROPEAN SOURCE INDICATED OJUKWU HAD ORDERED PREPARATION OF OWERRI AS THE NEW SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. STRONG DEFENSE HAS EVIDENTLY STALLED NIGERIAN FIRST DIVISION PUSH IN OR AT UMUAHIA AND FRESH VICTORIES IN THE FIELD HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY GIVEN BIAFRAN MORALE A SHOT IN ARM.

GP-3. KNOX

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

5-2-69 3839

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ACTION: AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCSE 00, SCA 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, UPW 01, ACDA 16, 158 W  
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R 021215Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 314  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCR  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 3839

USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: - PRESS ROUND-UP, MAY 2

1. GOWON AND OWERRI. DAILY TIMES AND SKETCH FEATURED MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS FROM HEAD OF STATE GOWON TO 16TH BRIGADE, 3RD MARINE COMMAND "FOR HOLDING OUT IN SUCH DIFFICULT CONDITIONS IN OWERRI". HE ALSO CONGRATULATED THEM FOR ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL OF SOLDIERS, REFUGEES AND PRISONERS. SUPREME HEADQUARTERS REPORTEDLY MAINTAIN FEDERALS STILL OCCUPY POSITIONS ON OUTSKIRTS OF OWERRI. PUBLIC ASSURED THERE ARE PLANE FOR RECAPTURE OF OWERRI.

2. POLITICS IN GHANA. DAILY TIMES EDITORIALIZES ON RESUMPTION OF PARTY POLITICS IN GHANA BY NOTING GHANAIAN EXPERIENCE "HAS PARALLEL ALL OVER AFRICA" BECAUSE OF NUMBER OF

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By MVA Date 10/3/03



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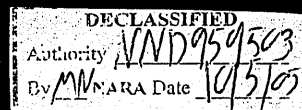
PAGE 02: LAGOS 03839: 021741Z

MILITARY REGIMES PRESENTLY IN POWER. MAIN POINT OF EDITORIAL IS THAT AFTER MILITARY RELINQUISH POWER, NEW CIVILIAN POLITICIANS SHOULD NOT RPT NOT REPEAT "MISTAKES OF THE PAST". SAYING THAT NO "AFRICAN STATESMAN TODAY TALKS OF CONTINENTAL UNITY WITH CONVICTION". TIMES URGES CREATION VIRILE NATIONAL STATES FROM FORMER COLONIES. REPEATING THAT FALL OF SEVERAL CIVILIAN REGIMES IN AFRICA SHOWS THAT "PEOPLE WANT A CLEAN BREAK WITH POLITICS OF THE PAST". TIMES WISHES NEW GHANAIAI LEADERS SUCCESS IN FRESH EXPERIMENT IN PARTY POLITICS. (COMMENT: NO EFFORT MADE TO DRAW PARALLELS WITH NIGERIAN SITUATION.) TIMES AND NEW NIGERIAN ALSO CARRIED STRAIGHT NEWS STORIES ON RETURN OF POLITICS, WITH LEAD BEING POSSIBLE REVIVAL OF NKURMAHS DISBANDED CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY. MATHEWS

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, USIE 00, UCF 05, P 04, EIAE 00, INR 07, NSAE 00, RSC 07, CUI 04,  
SS 20, SP 02, L 03, NSC 10, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01, 117 W  
064525

P 011520Z MAY 69  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1127  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

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JOINT CONSULATE/USIS MESSAGE

1. LEAD FRONT PAGE STORY "NEW NIGERIAN" APRIL 30 HEADED:  
"ROLE OF VOICE OF AMERICA CONDEMNED" (FBIS 300835) BASED  
ON REPORTED REMARKS OF KANO STATE EDUCATION COMMISSIONER  
ALHAJI MUHTAR SARKIN BAI ON FAREWELL CALL OF KADUNA  
CONSULATE PRINCIPAL OFFICER BIRNEY STOKES (TEXT FILED  
BY FBIS). SYAS ALHAJI MUHTAR "DEPLORED THE ROLE OF THE  
VOICE AMERICA IN NIGERIAN CRISIS AND REGRETTED  
THAT THE BROADCASTING SERVICE, WHICH WAS WIDELY RESPECTED  
IN AFRICA, HAD ALLOWED ITSELF TO BE UNDULY INFLUENCED BY  
REBEL FOREIGN SUPPORTERS". ONLY SPECIFIC GIVEN, HOWEVER,  
WAS CLAIM THAT IN APRIL 23 BROADCAST, VOICE REPORTED  
THAT AFP HAD REPORTED UMUHIA STILL IN REBEL HANDS.

2. COMMENT THE KANO COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION RAISED  
THE MATTER WITH MR. STOKES DURING DISCUSSION OF  
EDUCATION EFFORTS IN KANO. IT SEEMED AT THE TIME TO HAVE  
BEEN AN AFTERTHOUGHT AND THERE NO INDICATION THAT  
THE DISCUSSION WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC AS OFTEN THE CASE.  
HERE, IT WAS PUBLISHED ANYWAY, EVEN IF FIVE DAYS LATE.  
FOR BETTER OR WORSE, THE "NEW NIGERIAN" VERSION OF WHAT  
TRANSPIRED IS ESSENTIALLY CORRECT.  
DECON 50XUP.  
STOKES

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00,

SCA 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, AID 28, /142 W

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R 011500Z MAY 69  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6304  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
/AMEMBASSY COTONOU 1092  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USIA WASHDC  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

UNCLAS LAGOS 3817

USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: PRESS ROUND-UP, MAY 1

1. WITHDRAWAL FROM OWERRI. DAILY TIMES HEADLINES STORY FROM PORT HARCOURT CLAIMING FMG 16TH BRIGADE SAFELY WITHDREW FROM OWERRI BECAUSE AIR-DROPPED SUPPLIES INSUFFICIENT TO MAINTAIN FEDERAL HOLD ON TOWN. INTERVIEWED IN PORT HARCOURT BY TIMES REPORTER, 16TH BRIGADE COMMANDER, LT. COL. UTUK, SAID RENUGEES KEPT BY FMG IN OWERRI "SOMEHOW MANAGED TO PASS INFORMATION ABOUT OUR MOVEMENTS TO THE REBELS." UTUK PICTURED RECEIVING "WARM HANDSHAKE" FROM THIRD MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION CHIEF OF STAFF, LT. COL. ALLY. UTUK STRONGLY DENIED LOSING MOST OF HIS TROOPS AS REBELS CLAIM.

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WM INFILTRATION OF MIDWEST. TIMES ALSO NOTES REBEL RADIO CLAIM TO HAVE TAKEN ABOH, SMALL TOWN ON WEST BANK OF NIGER NEAR MEETING POINT BORDERS OF MIDWESTERN, RIVERS AND CENTRAL EASTERN STATES. ON PAGE 3, TIMES CARRIES MINISTRY OF DEFENSE DENIAL OF BBC STORY ABOUT ABOH "THAT FEDERAL TROOPS REPULSED REBEL INFILTRATORS IN MIDWEST RECENTLY". DEFENSE MINISTRY CALLED BBC STORY "MISCHIEVOUS" (A PEJORATIVE TERM IN NIGERIAN ENGLISH).

3. SWEDISH REBUTTAL. NEW NIGERIAN APRIL 24 CARRIED STORY WITH PICTURES OF BOX CAPTURED BY FMG FROM REBELS WHICH PAPER CLAIMED WERE "EXPLOSIVES" GIVEN BY SWEDISH RED CROSS TO BIAFRANS. STORY CLAIMED THIS PROVED RELIEF AGENCIES GIVING MILITARY AID TO REBELS. NEW NIGERIAN OF MAY 1 PRINTED LETTER FROM SWEDISH AMBASSADOR IN LAGOS WHICH CALLED STORY "SHOCKING"; SAID BOX CONTAINED HYDROGEN GENERATOR FOR WEATHER BALLOON; THAT SWEDISH RED CROSS PROVIDED METEOROLOGICAL EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL IN LATE SUMMER '68 WHEN OBILAGU AIR STRIP DESIGNATED EXCLUSIVELY FOR RELIEF SHIPMENTS; THAT GENERATOR SHOWN SWEDISH MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS TEAM ON APRIL 4, WHO EXPLAINED THAT BOX "DEFINITELY DID NOT CONTAIN ANY MATERIAL FOR PRODUCTION ARMS OR EXPLOSIVES", BUT WAS PROBABLY INTENDED FOR INFLATING WEATHER BALLOONS. IN ANY CASE, EQUIPMENT NEVER USED. NEW NIGERIAN EDITORIAL RESPONSE LIMITED TO LACONIC "THANKS FOR THE EXPLANATION".

RM NUPTIAL AFTERMATH. TIMES CARRIED LENGTHY REJOINDER BY HAMZAT AHMADU, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY AT STATE HOUSE, TO APRIL 24 ARTICLE BY GADFLY COLUMNIST TAI SOLARIN WHICH CRITICAL OF ALLEGEDLY ELABORATE ARRANGEMENTS FOR GOWON WEDDING. AHMADU, WHO PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR ORGANIZING WEDDING, EXPLAINED NECESSITY INVITE LARGE DIPLOMATIC CORPS HERE, MEMBERS SUPREME MILITARY AND FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND MANY OTHER VIPS. BURIED IN MIDDLE OF AHMADUS DENIAL THAT WEDDING TOO OSTENTATIOUS ARE STATEMENTS "DAMNING" EDITOR DAILY TIMES FOR PUBLISHING SOLARIN ARTICLE AND SUGGESTING SOLARIN IS "REALLY BEGINNING TO OUTLIVE HIS USEFULNESS AS COLUMNIST AND THINKER". (AHMADU LENGTHY ARTICLE INDICATES SENSITIVITY TO PRESS CRITICISM. WEDDING IN FACT WAS QUITE DECOROUS AND ATTENDANCE PROBABLY COULD NOT HAVE BEEN FURTHER LIMITED WITHOUT CAUSING MORE DISSENT THAN THAT EXPRESSED BY THE UNINVITED MR. SOLARIN.)

ATHEWS

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